

NUNC COGNOSCO EX PARTE



TRENT UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2019 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation

OXFORD LIBRARY OF
AFRICAN LITERATURE

General Editors

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

G. LIENHARDT

W. H. WHITELEY



1. The Bagre shrine, fixed in the neck of the central granary, which projects through the flat roof of the compound

THE MYTH OF THE BAGRE

JACK GOODY

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1972

DL 8780 . D 3 G 46
Oxford University Press, Ely House, London W. 1

GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON
CAPE TOWN IBADAN NAIROBI DAR ES SALAAM LUSAKA ADDIS ABABA
DELHI BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI LAHORE DACCA
KUALA LUMPUR SINGAPORE HONG KONG TOKYO

© OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS 1972

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

TO
GLYN DANIEL
AND
HUGH SYKES DAVIES



PREFACE

IN presenting this 'myth' and its translation, I want to offer thanks to my collaborators, in whom I have been singularly fortunate. Benima Dagarti, an enterprising LoWiili whose experiences as a soldier led him to look outside the community rather than within, first helped me write down this myth, which he had learnt from his father's brother, Naapii. I made a rough translation on the spot and I have to thank Romulo Tadoo for all his assistance at this time. In typing out the myth, I had the interest and help of Joan Warmbrun of the Centre of Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences at Palo Alto; later the West African Research Unit and African Studies Centre at Cambridge came to my aid. I have been assisted by Meyer Fortes's deep knowledge of Tallensi language and behaviour, for in many ways these are similar to those of the LoDagaa. In the later stages I have been greatly helped by Kumboona Gandaa, teacher, trader, politician, statistician, a convert to Islam, a scholar in all he does. It was in his company that I attended my first Bagre ceremony in 1951; it was his presence in London (and his willingness to give up his very limited free time) that enabled me to get the text out of my field-notes and into print. And it was with him that I returned to Birifu in December 1969 and January 1970 to see part of the Bagre being performed once again. On this last occasion we were able to record a version of the myth, but I have not used it in this book: the present text has been in my hands for nearly twenty years and I do not wish to delay its publication by the very considerable time the new version will take to transcribe.

Although I have spent several years working on this material, I am fully aware that there are many gaps. I have tried to avoid filling these from my own imaginative experience and have preferred to stick closely to the text and to its exegesis by the actors themselves. Further interpretations of my own I will offer in due course. The trouble with so many accounts of the myths, cosmologies, and thought of non-literate societies is the failure of the editors to distinguish news from views. I have tried to make this distinction as clear as I possibly can.

I owe a debt of gratitude to the Crowther-Beynon Fund of the University of Cambridge.

JACK GOODY

St. John's College, Cambridge
March 1970



CONTENTS

LIST OF PLATES	xi
----------------	----

REFERENCES AND ORTHOGRAPHY	xii
----------------------------	-----

PART ONE • INTRODUCTION

1. THE LODAGAA AND THEIR INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE	3
2. RELIGIOUS ACTION AMONG THE LODAGAA	14
The Earth shrine (<i>tengaan</i>)	16
The ancestors (<i>kpiin</i>)	17
Medicine shrines (<i>tiib</i>)	18
The beings of the wild (<i>kəntəme</i>)	19
Gods (<i>ngmimi</i>) and deities (<i>weni</i>)	22
The main axes	25
The guardian spirit (<i>siura</i>)	27
The Bagre myth in LoDagaa religion	28
3. THE BAGRE ASSOCIATION	34
The name	34
The distribution	35
The Dirt Bagre and the Oil Bagre	36
Other associations	37
Reasons for joining Bagre	39
The functions of Bagre	41
Ritual services: change and exchange	43
Recruitment	45
Bagre roles	46
The grades of Bagre	48
Bagre equipment	48
Bagre prohibitions	52
The Bagre calendar	53
4. THE BAGRE MYTH	56
The recitation of Bagre	56
The language of Bagre	58

The transmission of Bagre	59
The translation of Bagre	60
The characters in Bagre	62
5. THE BAGRE PERFORMANCES	64
Asperging the neophytes (<i>Bo puɔru</i>)	64
The announcement of Bagre (<i>Bo wuɔr</i>)	66
The ceremony of beans (<i>Bo bionɔ</i>)	76
The beer of the Bagre medicine (<i>Bo tĩ dāã</i>)	81
The whitening ceremony (<i>Bo pĩr</i> or <i>Bo byor</i>)	81
The beating of the malt (<i>Kengmir</i>)	88
The Bagre dance (<i>Bo siɔr</i>)	92
Day 1. The Bagre for Bambara beans (<i>Bo singbile</i>)	94
Day 2. Bagre eve (<i>Bo tisɔɔ</i>)	95
Day 3. Bagre day (<i>Bo muna</i>)	103
Day 4. The end of the dance (<i>Bo gyinyiri</i>)	107
Bagre gifts (<i>bo tuor</i>)	110
Bagre bells (<i>Bo gbelme</i>)	112
The second grade (<i>gan dāã</i>), the beer of the leather bottle	114
BIBLIOGRAPHY	117
PART TWO · THE BAGRE MYTH	
TRANSLATION OF THE WHITE BAGRE	121
NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION	204
TRANSLATION OF THE BLACK BAGRE	224
NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION	299
THE ORIGINAL OF THE WHITE BAGRE	316
THE ORIGINAL OF THE BLACK BAGRE	348
INDEX TO THE INTRODUCTION	379

LIST OF PLATES

1. The Bagre shrine, fixed in the neck of the central granary, which projects through the flat roof of the compound *frontispiece*

2. The entrance to the byre, where the ancestor shrines and guardian spirits are kept. On the right is the clan shrine, with its gourds containing hunting and homicide medicine
3. An outside shrine to the wilds and to the beings that inhabit them

4. The Collecting of the Malt (kei wuur), before the first of the Bagre ceremonies. On the left sit the members, on the right the neophytes *facing p. 66*

5. The neophytes after the Whitening Ceremony, carrying their gourds. The photograph is taken from Labouret's account (1931) of the LoBirifor version from the Upper Volta; in Birifu the painting is less pronounced
6. *The Whitening Ceremony*. The Bagre guides watch over the white-washed neophytes during their period of separation (Lawra, 1970)

7. *Bagre Bells*. The neophytes and their guides sit waiting after the shaving of their heads (Birifu, 1970) *facing p. 103*

8. *Bagre Bells*. The Bagre members search for the bells at the foot of the baobab tree that is associated with the guardian spirit of the clan (Birifu, 1970)
9. *Bagre Bells*. The neophytes are finally led around the market place, dressed up in their finery (Birifu, 1970)

between
pp. 18 and 19

between
pp. 82 and 83

between
pp. 112 and
113

REFERENCES AND ORTHOGRAPHY

- (i) I have given all cross-references to the myth in the following form:
W. (White Bagre) or B. (Black) followed by line number.
- (ii) For books, I have used the system adopted by the *American Anthropologist* and many other journals (references in the text).
- (iii) For references to my field notes I have given the page numbers in brackets; the notes are deposited with the West African Research Unit in the University of Cambridge.

I originally wrote down the text using the script suggested by the International African Institute. I have subsequently made changes, specific and general, on the advice of K. Gandaa; in cases of disagreement I have nearly always followed his spelling. However, I have used *ng* instead of *ŋ* since the latter refinement seems an unnecessary extravagance in a language of limited circulation. I have also used *h* as a modifier to eliminate the use of diacriticals, e.g. *bh* represents what appears to be an implosive *b*; *sh* represents *f*. Most African languages suffer from too great an attention to phonetic values which discourages their transcription and reproduction.

In the notes I have abbreviated the names of two commentators on the text as follows:

K. G. for Kumbəəno Gandaa

R. T. for Romulo Tadəə

In giving local words I use LW. for the LoWiili dialect of Birifu and LD. for the LoDagaba of Tom.

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

1

THE LODAGAA AND THEIR INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE

I DID not go to Africa to seek out a 'simple' society, nor indeed did I find one. The material tools, of course, were elementary; with the aid of an iron hoe the LoDagaa gained a living from the poor tropical soils of the savannah country of West Africa. By Eurasian standards, productivity was low and remains so today; there is no plough or wheel to assist them and the long dry season limits the extent and type of farming that is possible. But as far as intellectual activity is concerned, the LoDagaa were far from simple, savage, wild, or primitive. They lacked, of course, the advantage of writing, though its restricted use was known in the main towns of the region. But their language was as subtle and expressive as ours; though it obviously lacked a specialist vocabulary for absent specialisms, there was inevitably a greater shared knowledge of what existed.

I make this point at the outset because even anthropological readers are only too ready to assume a great divide between 'primitive' and 'civilized' thought, between 'mythopoeic' and 'logico-empirical' modes, between the wild and domesticated varieties. For other readers this general impression may be reinforced by the 'myth' presented in this book. It is a view that requires a major revision.

The search for differences in communicative systems and in intellectual processes is an important field of comparative sociology, and I do not wish to play down the real variations that exist. But the radical dichotomy that lies at the basis of such sociological and anthropological thinking, as well as behind popular belief itself, seems to me entirely unacceptable, a relic of academic colonialism that still pervades so many of our 'humanitarian' fields of study. My knowledge of LoDagaa language and culture was far from perfect, but I did not personally experience any of the

major problems of communication that such a dichotomy would entail, certainly as far as the logic of human discourse was concerned. While the Bagre myth differs from our own forms of discourse, being more particularistic in its ethic, for example, I do not find it intrinsically more difficult to understand than Masonic rituals or the Christian Bible. Neither Bagre myth nor Christian Bible are capable of any simple explanation; there is no master key that will unlock all secrets: no simple clue that will enable the reader to break the code. No more so here than in any other literary creation; all have to be judged according to similar standards, for there is not one set of rules for 'primitive' myth and another for the works of Sartre, Lawrence, or T. S. Eliot. My understanding of the Bagre text is no less and no more than my understanding of the Bible or of any other complex work of literature.

This myth and this ritual appear to have been composed by the LoDagaa of northern Ghana, or by a very similar people. The conditions under which they live are of course radically different from those of a townsman of Western Europe. The country they inhabit is part of the savannah zone that runs across West Africa between the rain forest of the coastal regions and the desert mass of the Sahara. Half the year, from October to March, it is very dry. This is the time when the Bagre ceremony is performed and when most 'calendrical' rites take place. During the six months from April to September, people are hard at work in their farms and this activity takes priority over all except the most urgent ritual needs; even burials are severely shortened, and the subsequent funeral ceremonies take place after the beginning of the dry season, when the harvest has been gathered in.

The harvest consists of the cereals, guinea corn (*sorghum*), millet (*pennisetum typhoides*), and maize; in addition there are a host of less important crops, ground-nuts, yams, sweet potatoes (*ipomea batatas*), cow peas (*vigna sp.*), bambara beans (*voandzeia subterranea*), frafra potatoes (*coleus dysentericus*), okro (*hibiscus esculentus*), and a number of other cultigens. Some wild plants too are a basic constituent of man's food, notably the baobab, dawadawa, and the shea. It is the ripening of the shea fruit that marks the beginning of the major sequence of Bagre ceremonies, each of which releases the new members from a prohibition placed upon eating one of the new crops, though these are not treated in any very systematic way.

These various crops are farmed in distant bush farms as well as immediately around the mud-built compounds that have been described as small forts—for they are completely enclosed, with a small parapet around the flat roof; except for the byre, where the animals are herded at night, the only access is by means of a wooden ladder to the roof.

The house is divided into a number of apartments, each containing an adult man, his wives and children, though a man with several wives will have more than one such unit. Each apartment includes a long room (*kyaara*) at the end of which stands a huge granary with its neck projecting through the flat roof. It is in this long room that much of the communal life goes on; in the wet weather women prepare food at the fireplace at the foot of the granary; in the heat of the sun men gather there to drink beer. This is the room used for the Bagre performances and it is in the neck of the granary that the Bagre shrine is built.

Off the long room are the women's sleeping and storage rooms, and it is here that the shrines to the hill and water spirits, the beings of the wild, are built against the inside wall. The opposite end of the long room to the granary opens on to a courtyard where most of the cooking of food and brewing of beer is carried out. From the walled court, a ladder leads to the rooftop, the surface of which is divided up according to the ownership of the rooms below. A shrine room has its section of the roof set apart for sacred purposes; each sleeping-room has its corresponding roof space where the inhabitants sleep during the dry season; the roof of the long room is where the grain is threshed and laid out to dry. And the rooftop as a whole is the favourite sitting-place on warm nights since it catches the evening breeze. Consequently, when the sun has set, parts of the Bagre ceremony take place here and it is on the rooftop of adjacent compounds that spectators sit late into the night, drinking beer, watching the dancing, and listening to new and old favourites being played on the xylophone.

From the rooftop one descends by another ladder to the area in front of the byre door, an outside yard that is kept clear of crops. Apart from this space there is only a narrow path in the growing season between the walls of the house and the tall stalks of the maize and guinea corn, which on the fertile soil that surrounds the compound rise above the level of the rooftop to some eight feet. The dominating feature of this open space is a tall shade tree, under

which stands a mortar for pounding grain, some logs for resting on and a number of outside shrines, usually found clustering around the entrance to the byre. Apart from housing the cattle, sheep, and goats, the byre is the most sacred room in the house, for it is here are kept the wooden ancestor shrines, carved to every man who has left a son to survive him.

The group that farms together and has its own granary is a small one, consisting of a man and his direct descendants (an extended family), or a couple of full brothers (an expanded family), or more usually just a man, his wives, and his young children. It is this farming group that plants, harvests, stores, and distributes the food it grows. But it does so always within a wider network of kinship ties. Several closely related units of this kind will commonly share one of the mud compounds, though as these domestic groups constantly grow and divide in the course of their development, one finds dwellings of different sizes; in the near-by area of Lawra these dwellings may accommodate up to a hundred people. Elsewhere the compounds are smaller, but the male inhabitants are still linked by patrilineal ties to those living in adjacent houses. Up to a dozen such houses will form an agnatic lineage, the numbers of which trace their descent to a common ancestor five or six generations back. Each lineage sacrifices to its common ancestors, sometimes individually, sometimes as a group, and it is these unifying bonds of descent that men see as dominating their behaviour to other members, leading to active help in farming, in marriage payments, and formerly in war, as well as placing restraints upon aggressive acts within the clan. Descent provides the ideology of much common action.

These lineages form the basis of the organization of the Bagre society, to which the recital I have written down belongs. Each lineage decides when it will perform the ceremony, roughly at intervals of four or more years. But they get help from similar groups in the same settlement. For certain purposes the help of lineages that belong to the same patrilineal clan is required. But lineages from different clans also play an important part. Indeed the whole settlement is actively involved in an intricate web of reciprocal and supporting services.

In any one settlement, these named patrilineal clans, such as Kpiele or Kusiele, may be represented by one or more lineages. They are extensive, dispersed units, supposed to have common

prohibitions (against eating certain foods and performing certain acts) and common acquisitions (such as arrow poison, medicines, and guardian spirits). They stretch into many neighbouring settlements, even to ones which speak languages that are not intelligible to the LoDagaa. In this context common descent is seen as overriding cultural identity.

Besides these numerous patrilineal clans, each individual belongs to one of four matrilineal ones. In Birifu, where this version of the myth was recorded, matrilineal clanship nowadays plays but a minor part in social life, although in the other area I worked (around Tom) all movable wealth was transmitted within these groups. For example, a man's livestock goes to his uterine brother or to his sister's son. While this form of inheritance is not now recognized in Birifu, there is evidence that in some parts of the settlement people had been pulled into the system of matrilineal inheritance practised by their neighbours.¹ Interestingly enough, the myth includes an explanation for matrilineal inheritance which is couched in terms of the resolution of father-son tensions and the use of inheritance to protect the security of the aged. In this respect it does, in a limited way, what Homer did more extensively, preserve in oral narrative the customs of an earlier time.²

The settlement I speak of is a named area, such as Birifu or Tom. It consists of 300 to 3,000 people whose dwellings are scattered unevenly over the agricultural land. In the large majority of cases, the settlement is identical with the area under the jurisdiction of an Earth shrine (*tengaan*) at which representatives of the clans sacrifice together on regular occasions as well as in times of trouble. The Earth shrine is as crucial to the social life of the LoDagaa as are the lineage and clan in a different context. For it again places certain obligations, certain restraints, upon those who dwell on its surface (or skin, *gan*, of the earth, *teng*). The foremost prohibition is placed upon the shedding of each other's blood. Should this occur, the settlement is said to 'spoil' and a heavy sacrifice has to be made before things are put right. The same is true of suicide and of a number of other acts, like sexual intercourse out of doors; though it was by observing the animals that (the myth relates) woman first learned about the reproductive act, to imitate

¹ I have tried to explain how this could occur in 'Inheritance, Social Change and the Boundary Problem', *Comparative Studies in Kinship*, London, 1969.

² See M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, New York, 1954: 26.

them is to fall into sin, for it is associated with extra-domestic sex.¹

The Earth shrine is primarily concerned with the settlements of men and the land they cultivate, while the surrounding bush (*wiɔ*, or *mwo*, grass) is the domain of the beings of the wild (*kɔntɔme*), whose herds are the animals hunted by men and whose crops are the trees and fruits of the woods. But the opposition is not complete. The Earth shrines themselves are situated in uncultivated groves, untouched by the hoe; the sabbath is a day of no hoeing. Moreover, men farm in the 'bush' as well as around their dwellings. On hunting expeditions, too, they come into contact with the denizens of the wild, with the buffalos they kill in the myth and the revenge of whose calf is an index of man's ambivalence towards the slaughter of living things, an important factor in totemic beliefs.² On the other hand, since communications have to be established with the beings of the wild, the shrines to them are found in sleeping-rooms and occasionally, in the compound yard, in small houses of their own. But the general association of these beings with non-human territory, especially the rivers and the hills, links them to the rest of the supernatural order. It is they who are the main intermediaries in communication between mankind and other agencies, so that the possession of a shrine to the beings of the wild is an essential attribute of the diviner, whose function it is to reveal the ways of gods to men. Indeed it is with precisely this theme that the whole Bagre recital begins. After the invocation of a number of supernatural agencies, it recounts how, against the background of various misfortunes, the younger of two original brothers was worried by a dream and went off to consult a diviner about what should be done. As a result he was told that the difficulties might be overcome by performing the Bagre, which involves the initiation of new members through a series of ceremonies carried out over several months of the dry season.

Variations upon this general pattern of social organization are found throughout the Dagari-speaking peoples of the north-west of Ghana, as well as among neighbouring groups speaking other languages. In the pre-colonial period there were no chiefs, although

¹ Having learnt from the animals, man then dissociates himself from them. See the Black Bagre, line 1955. Further references will be shown simply as B. (Black Bagre), W. (White Bagre), followed by the line number.

² See Goody 1962: 120, for a further discussion of this point.

men of power and influence played important roles from time to time. There were consequently no continuing boundaries connected with the limits of jurisdiction of an individual chief or of a council of elders; the only 'frontiers' were those of the parish or of one of its segments (a minor ritual area), which roughly corresponded to the territory inhabited by the local section of a clan.

Since there were few human boundaries, social intercourse flowed relatively freely between neighbouring parishes. People attended each other's weekly markets in the six-day cycle. They did so to buy produce like chickens and grain that were in short supply or were less expensive; and they did so too for social reasons, to drink beer, meet girls, talk to friends, or visit relatives. For while most marriages took place within the parish, some were made outside, leading to (or arising out of) ties of kinship and affinity. Social intercourse between neighbouring parishes led inevitably to disputes, which in their turn led to fighting and raiding, since there was not the same moral and religious pressure towards peaceful settlement that existed within the ritual area. But the flow of communicative acts took place against the background of common cultural elements, anyhow as far as neighbours were concerned. In a spatial sense, culture changed in the manner of linguistic dialects; the poles might be far apart, but at any intermediary stage the customs of adjacent parishes would be very similar, similar enough to enable them to attend each other's funerals, markets, and festive occasions.

In this situation, there were no 'tribes' as such; although on some occasions settlements did place themselves in more inclusive 'groups', the way they did so could differ according to the context. Permanent 'tribal' names therefore arise out of the needs of the observer rather than the actor, so that, while basing myself upon local usage, I have had to adopt my own designation for descriptive purposes. The group with which I am dealing here, consists mainly of the inhabitants of Birifu, whom I identify as the LoWiili. They are surrounded on the west by the LoBirifor, across the Black Volta, on the north by the LoDagaba and on the east by the DagaaWiili. To this complex I give the name LoDagaa, a combination of the two words they often use to indicate cultural direction and affinity.¹ Some fifty miles to the south lies the Muslim market town of Wa, established many centuries before. Some ten miles

¹ See Goody 1956: 16, for a more extended discussion.

to the north, up the road that runs parallel with the Black Volta, which forms the western boundary of northern Ghana, lies the small administrative centre of Lawra, founded in 1907 when the British extended their influence over the north-west.

The advent of the British has inevitably led to changes in the way of life. But owing to the paucity of crops for sale, these changes have been less marked than one might expect. Apart from the relief from war, famine, and disease (anyhow in their earlier forms), the most radical of the new influences on village life has been the introduction of the school and the church. In the last thirty-five years the Roman Catholic Church has spread rapidly in many parts of the area, leading to the abandonment or modification of some magico-religious practices. But the picture is very patchy. In the LoDagaba area around Tom, north of Lawra, where I spent some nine months in 1952, mission influence was quite strong and the Bagre ceremonies were rarely performed. Among the LoWiili on the other hand I met no Christians at that time and the Bagre continues to have a vigorous life to this day.

The other main instrument of change was the school. When I lived in Birifu, a primary school had recently been started and the two teachers were sons of the late chief (an office introduced by the British); at an earlier stage they had been sent to school in Lawra and had subsequently gone on to a training college. Characteristically, both were members of the Bagre society, for their father had insisted upon their being conversant with 'traditional' as well as 'modern' ways; indeed the dates of the Bagre were occasionally arranged to fit in with school holidays, and counter-adjustments in the return to school were also not unknown. This participation continued after the chief's death and I myself witnessed the wife of one of the teachers (later the local District Commissioner) successfully come through her initiation. Besides the general attachment to traditional belief, children who attend school are seen to be as much in need of supernatural protection as anyone else, a belief which they actively share.

The attachment to traditional belief was not at all inconsistent with a vigorous commitment to social development and I joined in many discussions with the educated few about what could be done, given money and independence. Independence came, as well as some external help. But when I visited Birifu in 1966 I noticed surprisingly little change. On a purely external level it is difficult

to alter a local mud-built compound by adding improvements in the shape of a tin roof; it is not the kind of structure you can tamper with. But more importantly the basic system of production by hoe agriculture has changed little, so that the base is lacking for any extensive change on the local level. Although some five hundred children, possibly half from Birifu, must have been through the local primary school since it first started, none of them save 'drop-outs' remained in the village to farm, apart that is from the chief, who was the son of his predecessor; even the present teachers were from other settlements and did not live in the village. In Birifu, the Bagre still continues to be performed; indeed its influence is spreading in some rural areas to the south and west, among the peoples of the Wa district and across the river in the Republic of the Upper Volta, for like many similar cults in the area, the Bagre and its myth are not confined to one settlement, tribe, or people.¹

I have yet to describe the physical appearance of Birifu itself. The settlement is sited on a stretch of the left bank of the Black Volta, just below the 11th parallel north of the Equator. The land near the river is little cultivated, since it is subject to flooding. Further away the terrain is better and a small part of the total area even has the advantage of a permanent supply of water, a spring at the foot of a sharp escarpment. A few houses stand on the flat top of the scarp, including my own, which looked down over the plain inhabited by the Chaa and Ngmanbili clans, across towards the River Volta and the Ivory Coast. But in many parts the surface of this plateau was almost barren of earth and showed only the bare surface of the flat, reddish, laterite rock underneath.

Clearly Birifu was an old settlement site. All the present clans claimed to have migrated from different places in the south about five generations earlier, though no reliability can be placed upon this time scale. Previously, they claim, Janni lived here; these are the Dyan now living around Diébougou in Upper Volta. The remnants of their compounds, recognizable by the tessellated floors, are scattered throughout the settlement. Whether the Dyan were also responsible for the round pits hacked out of the laterite for water storage and the extensive but simple forms of hillside terracing, I do not know. At all events, the site has been in continuous occupation over many centuries, partly because of the

¹ For details of its recent spread I am indebted to the Bagre film made in Haute Volta by G. Savonnet and to Mr. A. Jangu of Wa.

excellent water supply which makes possible some elementary irrigation. In this feature Birifu is well favoured by comparison with her neighbours, though the over-all density of population is not very different.¹

This then is the physical setting of Birifu. Its social life revolves mainly around agriculture. But while a woman's domestic round continues along largely the same lines throughout the year, the men are fully occupied in the growing season from March to October but have much more time at their disposal during the dry season. Some of this period is spent in house-building; much time is devoted to rituals of various sorts. Of these pragmatic and ritual activities, the most popular are the communal ones. Even in the wet season people join each other in farming parties, sit for hours at funerals, visit the weekly market, and of an evening go to drink beer at the house of one of the regular women brewers. But probably the most talked-about and rejoiced-in part of social life is the series of Bagre performances, associated with 'the deity of meetings', of coming together. For here, in the long, warm evenings, there is the music of the xylophones, the poetry of the myth, the dancing of the young, the conversation of the old, and plenty of beer, food, and girls.

This then is a sketch of the social and intellectual setting within which the Bagre is performed and the text recited. In the following chapters I first try to give an account of the organization of the Bagre society, then to discuss some features of the myth and finally to present the text, translation, and notes. With texts and rites of this length and complexity, there is an enormous amount one could add by way of comment and analysis. It is now nineteen years since I first took down the Bagre recital; while much remains to be done, the first priority must be to record the facts as I understand them. In the many discussions of African thought, African symbolism, African religion, even the expert often finds it difficult (sometimes impossible) to distinguish news from views, the construct of the observer from the concept of the actor, latent from manifest interpretation. In the Bagre text we have a document of African provenance which in length and complexity far surpasses anything so far recorded from the traditional, oral cultures. Its publication at least provides a base for the examination of the

¹ I have estimated the density as 330 per square mile of arable land, the Lawra district as a whole having a density of 81 (1948). See Goody 1956: 27.

intellectual processes of these societies. This base is lacking in those pictures built up by a process of question, answer, and creative interpretation, a process that often tells us more about the recorder than the recorded, more about Paris and Oxford, Dakar and Accra, than the villages of the West African savannahs.

Bibliographic note

For those wishing to pursue any aspect of LoDagaa culture, a bibliography is available in the second edition of my book *The Social Organisation of the LoWiili*, London, 1967 (1st edn., 1956). The other main sources are Henri Labouret, *Les Tribus du rameau Lobi*, Paris, 1931, and J. Goody, *Death, Property and the Ancestors*, Stanford and London, 1962.

The work of M. Fortes on the Tallensi is the most relevant to the study of the stateless peoples of the area, especially his forthcoming account of Tallensi religion, which will no doubt make as significant a contribution to comparative sociology as his two earlier volumes, *The Web of Kinship* (London, 1949) and *The Dynamics of Clanship* (London, 1945).

RELIGIOUS ACTION AMONG THE LODAGAA

To understand the Bagre myth, and the Bagre ceremonies with which it is associated, one needs to know something more of the religious system of the LoDagaa.

There are a number of ways of describing such activities. One can analyse the actors' relationship with the supernatural, the structure of the pantheon itself, the acts and concepts associated with communication between man and god, the network of symbolism involved in ritual acts, and finally the interaction between 'religion' and social structure. All these approaches are contributory ways of understanding, yet all are in some respects liable to mislead. For the LoDagaa, as for most non-literate peoples, religion is not a boundary-maintaining system; there is indeed no word that comes anywhere near a translation of 'religion' or 'ritual'. We find a range of institutionalized practices centring upon the communication between men and gods (widely interpreted); there is no religious system *per se*.¹

What exists, exists in change as well as in continuity. Certain facets of religious practice, notably the medicine shrines, are particularly subject to change (of the kind we may call organizational change) because they tend to offer specific returns which they later fail to produce. Their built-in obsolescence results in a degree of turn-over, or at least in fluctuations in their popularity.

Another change occurs in the relative importance allotted to the various constituents of the pantheon, and in the actions associated with them, at different times. These changes occur over the shorter as well as over the longer span. From the actor's standpoint, the shape of the supernatural world changes according to the divinity

¹ I was encouraged to find that the same point was made by Father Girault in his perceptive outline of the religion of the LoDagaba and the LoWiili, where he writes: 'il est utile de mettre en garde le lecteur contre le préjugé courant de trouver ici un ensemble de croyances cohérents, capable de constituer un tout entrant dans des cadres ethnographiques' (1959: 330-1).

he is propitiating. For wider social groups, too, different agencies come into prominence at different times of the year depending upon the ceremonies being performed. Bagre, as we shall see, is oriented more towards God than any other religious activity of the LoDagaa. But there is also a longer-term swing in the relative position of even major elements in the pantheon. I know of no other way of explaining the quite large differences that one finds among the inhabitants of quite a small area, e.g. the different position of 'gods' (*ngmime*) and 'beings of the wild' (*kɔntɔme*) among the LoWiili and the LoDagaba. However, the most striking illustration of the change in emphasis occurs with regard to God himself. Seligman's 'otiose high god' is after all the being who has created the world and all that therein is, the all-powerful, even if he does not care to exercise that power. Therefore he always remains a potential source of supernatural strength when others fail. And one form in which he may make such a come-back is in a transient cult, such as that of *Naangminle*, 'the little God', which was very popular in the Voltaic region during my stay there in 1952.¹

Religion then is more dynamic than many analyses suggest. There is an ongoing process of continuous creation of religious concepts and behaviour; indeed the religious field seems to be the most productive, creative, changing of any aspect of the activities of pre-industrial man.

This is partly because of the many options which religious practices and concepts are able to leave open, since they are rarely constrained by empirical considerations. The conceptual ambiguity that Gluckman discovers in law has here a yet fuller rein; indeed ambiguity, as with the conceptualization of the soul, is essential in order that the concepts should 'work' at all.

Consequently we cannot expect too much sharpness of definition

¹ I have discussed the entire text with my friend, Kumbɔɔno Gandaa (now a convert to Islam) on several occasions and I give his comments in footnotes, especially when he disagrees with me.

K. G. comments: 'The *Naangminle* of Leo in 1952 cannot be compared with *Naangmin* (God). The word *Naangmin* is used figuratively there. Indeed Gaziere from the chief's house at Birifu was nicknamed "*Naangminle*" by women in the house long before the appearance of the Leo *Naangminle*. This is because Gaziere was persistent in his demands. So when we were young, and feared to call him by such a derogatory name we translated it literally as "short god". Hence "short god" became Gaziere's nickname. The *Naangminle* of Leo was given this name because his powers were subordinate to that of God.' But 'the little God' is surely a refraction of God in the way that other shrines are not.

in these realms. Where we get greater precision from an individual, it may well be that individual's own gloss on the basic set of beliefs, the society's lowest common denominator. But this again is an inadequate way of putting it. The fact that our own religious concepts are encapsulated in holy writ and that we have continual recourse to the 'authority' of books in our search for knowledge may bias the approach we make to the religion of non-literate societies. We look for a definite dogma, a set array of knowledge, an over-reaching system; we hunt for a key to an intricate and interlocking mechanism; we look for something that 'makes sense' of the very discrepancies and ambiguities that are the essence of this conceptual domain in oral cultures.

For there no ultimate authority exists; there is no Holy Book, no dictionary of terms, no encyclopedia of concepts. Authority lies in usage, in communication; and common usage is a sounder basis than the explications of the specialist, often elicited at great length by a series of questions posed by the inquirer, rather than arising naturally out of his communications with gods and fellow men. This is an area of discourse in which informants, especially *the* informant, can be a dangerous indulgence—at least if one is trying (perhaps in vain) to specify some of the over-all parameters of LoDagaa (or any other) religion. There is no secret knowledge, not even a standardized myth like that of Bagre, which can unlock the religious system. For there is no defined, unchanging body of knowledge to unlock. But rather a series of particular constituents, of which the Bagre myth is one, built into different shapes with the bricks of common usage.

Even so the metaphor is clumsy. A basic concept like *siura* (LD. *sigra*), which I have translated as 'spirit guardian', or an agency like *ngmin*, 'god', has many modalities; one is trying not so much to find the key as to follow, to ravel, a mass of threads, to explore the varieties of meaning, the many types of ambiguity.

Here I want to try to outline the religious activities of the Lo-Dagaa, bearing in mind these problems and bearing in mind too the inventiveness and thoughtfulness of man at all levels of 'civilization'.

The Earth shrine (tengaan)

As far as any particular settlement in the region is concerned, the most important focus of religious activity is the Earth shrine,

because it is in its worship that the settlement or parish emerges as a social unit; the name itself, *tengaan*, means literally the 'skin' or 'crust' of the earth. A general prohibition exists upon shedding the blood (*zũ kyiru*) of another resident in the same ritual area, on pain of heavy sacrificial offerings and a fine of cowries.

The Earth shrine itself is located in a grove situated in a central part of the settlement where sacrifices are carried out by the Earth priest (or master of the Earth), his assistants and patriclan representatives, who constitute the nearest approximation to village officers that are found in these acephalous societies of the West African savannahs.

Apart from the parish, most settlements are subdivided into minor ritual areas, which roughly correspond to the land occupied and farmed by each of the patrilans that live there.

The compounds themselves are also protected by the Earth shrine, since stones from its grove are placed in the foundations of every house and constitute an element in other shrines. But sacrifices to the Earth can be made anywhere by building a little mound of earth (*tingser*) by the side of the path leading to the shrine. And the same mound can form an altar for propitiating distant ancestors, whose shrines are not known or have 'turned to dust' through the action of white ants; for the dead were anyhow buried within the earth.

The ancestors (kpiin)

Inside the house the main shrines are to the ancestors. Each man who leaves behind a male offspring has an ancestral stick, in rough, human shape, carved to his name. This shrine is created during the series of funeral ceremonies, at the end of which it is placed in the byre of the house where he lived. A woman has a secondary type of shrine made in her name and this is eventually transported back to her natal home by her clan sisters.

The ancestors are clearly dead humans, transformed into spiritual agencies, whose jurisdiction extends to their lineage kin and, in limited ways, to their matrilineal descendants. Their custodianship and worship is basically a matter for groups defined by patrilineal descent and little takes place within the compound of which they are not formally apprised by the residents. Birth, marriage, and death all fall within their orbit.

Medicine shrines (tiib)

Outside a LoDagaa house stand a number of shrines made from sticks, stones, and clay. These are mostly what I have called 'medicine shrines' or *tiib*; the word is cognate with *tī*, 'medicine' and *tiē* 'tree'; for most medicine the roots, leaves, bark, and twigs of trees are essential constituents.¹

All such shrines lead outside the compound with which they are physically linked, because they have been acquired by a particular individual in return for 'payments' of various kinds. A few of the shrines, such as that to Nako Hill in the Ivory Coast, are linked to outstanding natural features that form places of pilgrimage. All have a history of migration, of acquisition, either from within or without the parish.²

They have been inherited, acquired at the instruction of a diviner, or sought on the initiative of the present owner as a remedy for some social, psychological, or physical misfortune.

Two such shrines are referred to in the myth, Bari and Base. The first shrine, made of dried sticks, sometimes stands at the entrance to a house; it is one that a neophyte has to salute before he can climb in. For some people Bari (or Bara) is more than a medicine shrine as it seems to be identical with the patrilineal shrine of the person reciting the Bagre, the shrine of the Kpiele of Kyaa. This clan shrine (*dogro tiib*) is also known as *Gankye*, the call that members shout out as their poisoned arrows speed towards their prey. For this group there is a very close connection between the shrine and the clan's success in hunting and in war.³ The second shrine, Base, is situated by the door to the byre where it is passed as one enters to approach the ancestor shrines; its power relates particularly to witchcraft.

The shrine Base is found in houses throughout the LoDagaa area, though it again serves different purposes depending on the particular group to which it belongs. Among the Nambege of Tom (LD.), it belonged to the lineage as a whole; it was a *kpartig* (or *kpartib*, meeting) shrine, where all gathered because it was there that the grandfather had made a promise to sacrifice if he

¹ K. G. agrees that *tī* and *tiib* may have a common derivation but doubts that this is true for *tiē* (pl. *tiir*), tree.

² With the exception of a few that have come into being locally.

³ See Goody 1962: 110; also 2623, where it is linked with birth as well as the bow.



2. The entrance to the byre, where the ancestor shrines and guardian spirits are kept. On the right is the clan shrine, with its gourds containing hunting and homicide medicine



3. An outside shrine
to the wilds and to
the beings that
inhabit them

should beget children (*be na fu sāākum kō nuw ti dog yi*). It was a patriclan possession (*dogro bume*) concerned with birth (*dogfu iɔng*). What is a clan shrine for one group is likely to be a medicine shrine for others in the community.

The beings of the wild (*kɔntɔme*)

The agencies I have so far described, though of great importance in LoDagaa culture, play but a very minor role in the Bagre myth, though a greater one in the rites themselves. The beings of the wild (*kɔntɔme*), however, are central to the myth.

Unlike other supernatural agencies, these beings are portrayed concretely, in speech and in sculpture. Their shrines consist of a representation of a male and female being and they are spoken of as dwarf-like creatures of human appearance; in West African English they are often known as fairies or dwarfs.

These beings inhabit hills, rivers, and trees.¹ They are for the wilds (*wio* or *mwo*) what humans are for the cultivated areas over which the Earth shrine (*tengaan*) has sway. Their flocks are the wild animals (B. 2322), their crops wild fruits, and it is they who are acquainted with the qualities of the different trees required for man's medicines. Indeed, while they are 'the beings of the wild' they are also the transmitters of man's culture, for, as the myth relates, it is they who first showed him how to cultivate the land, to cook food, to make iron, to shoot with bow and arrow, showed him in fact all his major accomplishments.

These agencies are the immediate originators of man's culture. While God created man, it was the beings that taught him most of what he needed to know. The Bagre thesis on this point is repeated in other contexts of social life. All knowledge of supernatural agencies comes from them. It is to them that the diviner appeals in order to be able to tell his client what to do. It is by them that people are taught new supernatural techniques and acquire new shrines, often (it is said) by spending time with them in the wilds.² And originally it was they who passed on to man their technological accompaniments.

¹ At the beginning of the Black Bagre the younger of the two original men meets both the river beings and the beings of the woods (B. 41, 133).

² The idea is a recurrent one in West Africa. For the Ashanti, see R. S. Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti*, London, 1927, pp. 38 and 26, where they are described as 'the speedy messengers of the gods'.

The story is told in the Bagre but another version, probably derivative, was told to me by the same individual from whom I recorded the myth. I relate it here because of its statement concerning the relationship between beings (*kɔntɔme*) and guardians (*sigra*).

When man and woman first came to earth, they sat amidst a group of trees, the *gwo* (dawa dawa), the *sigtir*, the *taantir* (shea), and so on. They had no house and no food. So they slept on stones under the tree, the *sigtir* first. And there they found food.

One night the woman said to her husband, 'Why do we come to sleep in this tree when there is no food growing here? Look at that shea tree or dawadawa with its food.' The man said nothing. She repeated this question for three days. Then one day the man said, 'Let's go to the shea tree'. So they went there and left the *sigtir*. By midday they had nothing to eat and nearly died and they thought of returning to the *sigtir*. Before they did so, the woman took a shea nut and ate it and found it sweet and she climbed up and they ate. But they were not satisfied and so returned to the *sigtir*. However, they could no longer find the food that had been there before; then they had found meat and everything at the bottom of the tree. So every day they had to go out and collect the fruit of the shea. But after three weeks it was finished. Then they saw some grass growing—it had seed. So they went along and started to cut it and one of the beings of the wild said:

'That is my food which God gave me.' When he said this, the woman stopped.

*Anya na i in bundiri a Naangmin kum. O baa yil le ka
pɔɔ bar*

And the being said, 'cut it', and she did so.

ka kɔntɔmo le yil ka ngmaa ko ngmaa bar.

And he said 'What did you eat before?' The man replied

O yil ka buon yia dong di a kɔre zaa. A deb yil ka,

that they used to eat at the foot of the *sigtir*.

ka sigtir pule be dong dire.

The being then said, 'Wait and I'll show you how to farm.'

A kɔntɔmo yil ka vɛ ka n wiil fu, a kob ba ma kob.

He took the man along and told him how you can farm the grass

Ti tɛro deb kyesi, ti yil ka le fu na tuɔ ko a mwo

we have eaten.

anyi wa diã.

He took a large stone, together with charcoal and let a fire burn for three whole days, took out the stone, broke it so the earth fell away, leaving the core. He took this home and put it in the forge, put it on the fire and then beat it till it bent. Then he made a hoe and put it in water so it boiled and the iron became strong. As the water cooled, he took it out and used it to cut a branch off a tree. This he took back home and carved into a hoe handle, made a hole in the end and fixed on the blade. Then the being said to the man, 'Watch what I do. The trouble all comes from your wife. She wants food so badly. If you work hard, you'll get food to give her.' So he showed him how to cultivate the soil and made the woman plant the seed. When she'd finished, he showed him what to do. 'When this grows and is ready, they cut it.' When this had been done, the being showed them how to pound the grain and make porridge. This she did and gave the food to her husband.

As he was about to eat, he thought, and then said

A le song a bɔɔ ko di, o ɛra tiero, pãã yil ka a

that at the foot of the [tree], the stones that lie there,
sigtir pule, a kusibe ala na gã,

we will always give them food. He then gave food to
tɪ na ma ina bundiri ɪng. Ti pãã i ɪng

each of the stones. They finished eating. They took the stone,
a kusibe zaa kpo. Ba'a di baari. Ti pãã de a kusir,

and went to bury it in the farm.

pãã kyeni ũũ a puo puo.

This is what they call sigra (LW. siura).

A le na so ba buɔɔ a ka sigra.

Another text on the guardians seems to refer to the clan 'guardians':

If they saw a trader, they would take him to the guardian

Ba la nye a yera, ba na be la kyeni a sigra ɪng,

and kill him.

tɪ ku.

The time referred to was the period of the Bagre performance and other sources tell of the killing of strangers at these places

of the guardian spirit, though it was a relatively rare occurrence.¹ The narrator continued:

The guardian, he is the earliest of all. He looks after
Sigra in dǝñnio sob. O lo nu kaara

everybody. They know that if the cowherd looks after
nibe zaa kpo. Ba bɔɔn ka naa kyiine na ma kaar
the cattle, when they kill a cow, he gets the head.
bumzaa, ba la ku naab, o le so a zu.

But a person is not a cow that can be killed to the guardian.
Ti nir be i naab ka be na nyo ku a sigra iɔng.

So it is that when they find a single individual, they take
Le na vɛ ka ba mǎǎ pɔɔ a ni boyen kyeɛni

him and kill him, saying that this is food for the cowherd.
ti ku ti yel a naakyiine bundiri n'anya.

To the concept of the guardian I return after considering the other major elements in the pantheon.

Gods (ngmimi) and *deities* (weni)

The Bagre myth centres upon the tripartite relationship of man, God (*Naangmin*), and the beings of the wild. As I have stated, the other supernatural agencies that play so important a part in the normal religious activities are almost entirely neglected. The ancestors and the Earth shrine, though they are the recipients of sacrifice in the course of the Bagre ceremony, are scarcely mentioned. Of the many medicine shrines so liberally scattered in front of people's houses, Bari and Base are referred to only in passing, as is that standard trickster of LoDagaa folklore, the spider.

But apart from God, that is *Naangmin* or chief god, there are other gods (*ngmimi*, or *weni*, deities) which stand in a subordinate position to God, though in a superordinate one to man.

It should be remembered that among the LoDagaa God has no altar, no shrine, no point through which communication can be effected. People 'call the name but do not know him'.² But gods

¹ K. G. doubts this. 'The killing of human beings at Bagre runs counter to the very principle of the Bagre myth. If such a story is true, it must be a different *sigra* . . . Bagre prohibits the shedding of blood'.

² On this quotation, K. G. comments: 'I do not think God is not known. They know Him and identify Him as above all other supernatural gods. He may not be idolized but that is because God is everywhere—in heaven, on earth,

or deities do have shrines, especially *saa ngmin*, the rain god, to which a special part of the roof is often devoted. They are regarded as having a filial relation with God, but then so (in the last analysis) are all created things, and both supernatural and material phenomena fall under this category. Nevertheless the use of the same name does appear to imply a closer association than with, say, the beings of the wild.

This situation does not indicate any absolute dominance of the beings of the wild by the gods. Indeed the first are said to teach, and therefore to 'own', the latter (*kəntəme wiili ngmin, be lo so*); of course, they have nothing to teach God. 'What the beings teach and it helps you (mankind), that's what we call god' (*a kəntəme na wiil ko'o sɔɔni fu, a le na ti ma buola a ngmin*).

The *ngmime* (gods) again play little part in the day-to-day activities in Birifu (LoWiili), though they have more of a role among the LoDagaba. The 'rain god' has a special position; so too does the Bagre deity (*Bo wen*). Otherwise the LoWiili only appear to use the concept as an alternative term for other agencies, in their role as beings subordinate to God or Fate. The position is made clear in W. 5254-60 where a neophyte asks about the relationship between God and god. The reply is

'we follow
God.
He is the senior
but we can't see him.
It is a god
who comes down to people.
That's what we call god.'

Similarly the beginning of Black Bagre lists an array of gods, a key to which is provided towards the end (a great feat of organization in a work of oral literature). The gods are then revealed as

etc. His powers are passive, not active as those of the other demigods. He has no revenge but takes his child when the time comes for him to die. That is why no appeal is made to God until the last resort. The other gods are vindictive; when you offend their ways they punish you for it. It is little wonder that when a person is ill or dead they first try to find out whether the death or illness is caused by the vengeance of the other gods, or whether it is natural—that is, according to God's will. If no cause is found for the death or illness, it is presumed to be God's will and the sufferer in the last resort appeals to God in desperation, e.g. "What have I done to deserve such treatment from God?" (*Bonu kã i ka Naangmin fere ma nya?*).

beings of the wild or agencies of other sorts. The only gods that emerge as agencies in their own right appear to be *Naangmin* (God), *Saa ngmin* (rain), and *Bo wen* (the Bagre deity).

We can now consider the position of *Bo wen* in the pantheon of agencies and in the set of shrines, the material correlatives of the supernatural agencies. The shrine is set in the neck of the granary, and consists of a small mud mound usually with a shell from the river (*man*) and a stone from the hill (*tong*), the two main abodes of beings of the wild. But even non-initiates may have shrines of the same type in the same place. These are normally for fertility (*dogfu tiib*), but if a man is a senior initiate and goes to kill a Bagre fowl there, then the shrine is for *Bo wen*—because he owns all (*o lo so a zaa*).

The Bagre deity looks after the granary and its contents, after all 'things of the hoe', which are so necessary for the performances themselves.¹ Bagre may be seen as a funeral (p. 36), but it is about birth, fertility, health. It was described to me in the following terms:

The initiating of members comes through farming.

Bɔɔ nyɔɔb yin kɔb zie.

If you don't have (crops), you cannot perform Bagre.

Fũũ ba tɛɛ fu kã tuũ nyɔɔ Bɔɔre.

Every kind of crop they'll store in the granaries.

A kɔb bom zaa ba ma iɔɔn boori.

There is a stone that they put down so it looks after

A kuur ka ba ma de bin ko kaar

all the food, then they can take out some food from the

a bundiri zaa; ka ba maa ir a bundiri a boor puɔ

granary and perform Bagre. The stone that watches

ti nyɔɔni a bɔɔr. A le na kuur na zĩ gu

over the food so they can initiate the neophytes,

a bundiri ka ba de nyɔɔni a bɔɔbil,

it is good that he sees those neophytes.

a shɔɔn ko nyɛ a bɔɔbil.

¹ In the Nambegle lineage of Tom (LD.) the *Bag ngmin* (i.e. *Bo wen*) is only brought up to the neck of the granary at the time of the Bagre dance; otherwise it is kept in the byre at the foot of the ancestor shrines. This I was assured was the 'god who descends' (*ngmin ka sigra*) (2404).

Well, because of this they call the head of Bagre,
Le zũ, a la na vë ka ba buɔla Bɔɔr nikpëë,

Bo wen (the Bagre deity).

Bɔɔ wen.

The main axes

The main axes of LoDagaa religion are two. Firstly there is the association and opposition between the Earth and the ancestors. Sacrifices to these agencies occur at the beginning of every Bagre ceremony.

The other axis is the Earth and the Heavens. It would be easy to oppose these two in some simplistic way. They do contrast in terms of the Below and the Above, Earth and Sky. But the complexities of LoDagaa thought are not to be neatly encapsulated into some trivial diagram, some elementary opposition.

God, Sun, Sky, and Rain are a set of linked concepts, at least etymologically. Of the LoDagaa in the Ivory Coast Girault writes that, 'Le nom de Dieu est *Nāmwin*, appelé tantôt *Mwin* . . . *Mwin* ou *Mwina* est le soleil et son idée est inséparable de celle de Dieu. En aucun cas on ne peut parler d'une identité, mais plutôt d'une même localisation, puisque la résidence de Dieu est le ciel: *sa* ou *salom*' (1959: 332). Among the LoBirifor, *wen* is used for both god and sun. For sun the LoDagaa in Ghana use the etymologically related form of *ngmitong*—the *muto* of Girault, which he translated as 'the strong sun' (1959: 333). But I have myself never heard the sun identified with God or any other deity; the etymological connection is denied at the conscious level.¹

But God is often located in the *salon*, sky, translated by Girault as 'voûte obscure' (1959: 337), or in the above (*saazu*, 'firmament d'en haut'), both of which terms he derives from *saa*, 'voûte céleste'. More commonly, *saa* is rain, thunder, lightning.² The word also refers to the rain shrine (in full, *saa ngmin*) found in many LoDagaa

¹ K. G. agrees but notes that the Isala of Tumu use the term *wiesi* for both sun and God.

² K. G.: 'In Birifu, *salon* can sometimes mean clouds, though the more usual word is *zuzue*. *Saazu* means "in the air" rather than "in the sky"; *saasuɔ*, the rain's knife, is the rainbow. The word *saa* is used for thunder and lightning in the following way:

saa tana—it thundered (lit. the rain shouted).

saa nyiurɔ—there is lightning (lit. the rain flashed).'

houses where it takes a whole variety of forms and is universally of great significance in oaths and similar procedures. The killing power of lightning is something the LoDagaa fear greatly and a death from 'rain' is always attributed to some major offence against the shrine.¹

The polarity between Earth and Sky is also a sexual polarity. As the myth relates, the Earth is female and fertilized by the male rain from the sky (B. 455). God too is male, and even has a 'wife' (B. 646).

To return to the theme of the major axes of LoDagaa religion, the Earth (shrine) and God emerge as more general categories, or explanatory principles, than the other agencies of the pantheon. Nor are they confined, in their more inclusive usages, to the Below or the Above. For example, my learned friend Bõyiri once said to me when we were discussing deities (*wen*), '*a zaa in tengaan*', 'it's all the Earth shrine'. While *wen* and *ngmin* are linked with the Above, with God, they are also Below in a sense that God never is. He created the world and then distanced himself; he cannot descend again just because he is all-powerful, as is vividly explained in the myth (W. 6050). But others can. The god who descends cannot be God; it is the Bagre deity.

The Bagre deity is thus Below as well as Above. It has a material manifestation which inevitably includes earth. It is here, as well as there. So too are the ancestors; they are in the land of the dead (*kɔpime teung*) which is also the place where God resides (*Naangmin teung*); but they are also where their shrines are.

The problem of location is solved in two ways: firstly, by movement between here and there: at funerals and at sacrifices to their shrines the ancestors are spoken and thought of as being near at hand; as at All Saints, the souls of the dead revisit the living. Secondly, by means of concepts such as the soul, which allow of multiple essences, multiple presences.

For supernatural agencies, like human beings, have life (*tera nyɔvuar*); the myth illustrates this when it humorously portrays the reactions of the Earth to being struck by human beings making their sacrifices on its surface. In this sense, even the dead ancestors could be said to have life. In any case it is only one of the dual

¹ God is closely associated with the rain and the myth speaks of God's rain-drops (B. 4467). It is significant that when man tries to build a shrine to communicate with God, it is a rain shrine he builds (B. 3532).

aspects of the human persona that dies a physical death; the other continues to exist, and to inhabit both the Above and the Below, as do all supernatural agencies.

Man too, though essentially of the Below, has his window on the Above. Not only do communications come to him from the universe of supernatural agencies, but some of his number visit there and come back to earth. Whereas for most of mankind death is a journey from which we do not return (except unseen as spirits), some come back as visible ghosts (*nyããkpiin*). But more important are those living men who have gone and come back. In the Black Bagre it is the younger brother (*to ble*) who with the aid of the spider (*selmunder*) climbs upwards to see God and returns to earth with a child, 'God's child' (B. 482).

The guardian spirit (siura)

Before I discuss the main problem that the Bagre myth raises for comprehending LoDagaa religion, I need to return to the idea of the guardian spirit (*siura*, LD. *sigra*) that I touched upon before, since this is important both in the myth and in the ritual.

These tutelaries work on two levels. Any individual may have a spirit guardian, who can be an ancestor, a medicine shrine, or other agency. Some clans provide a guardian for each child at a ceremony that occurs at about the age of three months. It is this ceremony that is in effect duplicated (in its ritual elements) during the Announcement of Bagre when the neophytes are taken before the ancestor shrines and are made to flick shea butter on them three times (*tɔna*).

But each clan also has 'a place of the guardian' (*siura zie*) which serves the clan as a whole. It is here that the bells given to each Bagre neophyte are buried in the earth; bells are one of the main means of communicating with the supernatural world. When the Maale lineage performed their Bagre in Birifu, their elder, Depep, took a pot of beer to the place of the guardian and prayed before the ceremony first began. In Kyaa, on the other hand, they first addressed the ancestors, who were, for Bagre purposes, the guardian spirits. A man approaches the shrines and flicks shea butter on them. Someone has to do this for each neophyte; a diviner is usually approached to find out the name (or at least the matriclan) of the man who should do it (425).

In Kyaa 'the place of the clan guardian' is in the scarp above the riverain plain. It is a slight shelter in the rock, where the exposed chalk contains saline minerals that the cattle come to lick. It is from this slight cave that the ingredients are dug for making white-wash and for this reason it is known as *Bɔɔ pla*, the white hole.

Men go there at various times to seek help. My friend Benima had gone there with his father, Na, who was troubled with problems to do with fertility (*dɔɔb*, birth). Subsequently, at the general thanksgiving festival (*bagmāā dāā*) that is held every year, they returned there to kill three fowls and so 'take out the mouth', that is, pay a return gift for what had been received. This, then, is the place of the guardian for the whole local section of a patriclan (*tī sāā [yiri] siura zie ti ko*) and it is to there they go at Bagre-time to bury the neophytes' bells.

Such a site is often of great importance to a clan in its migration history, for the place of the guardian contains perhaps the essence of clanship. It was here that in former times lone strangers were sometimes sacrificed to the 'herdsman' who looked after his flock.

The Bagre myth in LoDagaa religion

In translating the Bagre myth of the LoDagaa I was constantly struck by the fact that its whole tone and content was much more 'theistic' than I, as a non-initiate, had experienced LoDagaa religion, and as I had obliquely described it in *Death, Property and the Ancestors*. I am not aware that my description was unduly conditioned in this regard by my own 'world view', if it can be described by such a term. Indeed the writings of British and French administrators such as Rattray, Tauxier, and Labouret, and the outline of LoDagaa beliefs presented by R. P. Girault, a French missionary of the Catholic faith, are not basically at odds with what I myself reported.

But the myth of the Bagre society is different. The creator God, common throughout Africa, is perhaps still a *deus otiosus*, but his position in the pantheon is more important than other religious activities would suggest.

This is the paradox of LoDagaa religion. If we look for the supernatural agencies that play the major part in the thought, concepts, and behaviour of the LoDagaa, these are certainly the Earth and the ancestors. These are the two focal points, what one might call the ritualization of the principles of locality and of descent

(Goody 1957: 103). In this respect, my own analysis of the LoDagaa certainly supports Fortes's study of Tallensi religion and the work of other observers of the pagan peoples of the savannah region.

God (*Naangmin*), the cognate of the Tallensi *Nawun*, plays a small part in day-to-day activities. There is no altar at which one can offer him prayer or sacrifice. He has little or no influence in the current affairs of man. An oath to God is worthless. A man who has lived a full life and has died of old age is said to have died 'God's death', because no maleficent agency has cut short his life. It is doubtless for these reasons that Fortes translated *Nawun* as 'Heaven' or 'Fate'; God is the ultimate cause.

From the standpoint of acts of worship and everyday usage, I would not begin a description of the pantheon with a description of God, as Father Girault chooses to do in his essay on their religion. There he writes:

Il est incontestable que c'est l'idée de Dieu qui domine et 'coiffe' l'ensemble de la religion des Dagara. Elle est tellement ancrée en eux qu'il ne leur viendrait même pas à la pensée de mettre en doute son existence. La vie quotidienne en est imprégnée et, au milieu de l'ensemble complexe de fétiches et de superstitions, Dieu émerge toujours et a sa place nettement à part; le reste, ce sont les *tibè* (fétiches); Dieu est seul à ne pas être représenté par un fétiche (1959: 331).

He sees an opposition between God (*Nâ-nwin*) and fetish (pl. *tibè*), though the latter are 'l'expression matérielle des relations de Dieu avec les humains' (p. 333).

This is a very different view of the religion of the LoDagaa than emerges in my account of their funeral ceremonies or, I suggest, in everyday life as I, and others, have observed it. Indeed the view of Father Girault brings the LoDagaa into a much closer relationship with studies that have been done of the religions of the southern Sudan, especially that made by Evans-Pritchard among the Nuer.

Which of these views is correct? The question, though natural, is misplaced. It would seem at first as though the view that all supernatural agencies were emanations of God, and the polytheistic approach, where God is a residual figure, were at opposite ends of the spiritual universe—monotheism as opposed to polytheism. But this is not altogether the case. In the first place, the uniqueness of God is perhaps less significant, and less established, than Girault suggests. God is opposed to 'fetish' (a tendentious translation)

only because he has no material counterpart; the Christian crucifix could equally be described by this term. But more usually the word is applied to 'medicine shrines' and would exclude the ancestors as well as the Earth, even though they have altars at which their worship is pursued. Moreover, while God is the creator, creation does not necessarily imply uniqueness; though the parallel is not exact (God builds, *ir*; man begets, *doo*), the ancestor that founds a lineage is not to be separated from his offspring. Indeed the term *Naangmin*, 'head *ngmin*', is itself an index of this lack of uniqueness.¹

Father Girault sees the Bagre as a dedication to God, for he identifies *wen* or *ngmin* with *Naangmin*.² The myth makes it clear that, firstly, the Bagre rites are not immediately directed towards God, but towards other agencies; and, secondly, that these agencies, described as *ngmin* or *wen*, include the beings of the wild. Moreover it is important to insist that not everyone becomes a member and not all LoDagaa have the Bagre; it is not in my view intrinsic, nor is it seen by the actors as being so, though its importance is certainly stressed in the myth (W. 4555).

Nevertheless, when this has been said, it remains true that the whole myth of Bagre is very much more theocentric, in the way Girault desires, than is the experience of everyday religion. God is not the centre of attention; the beings of the wild are the main agency concerned.³ But this orientation is seen as the weakness not the strength of Bagre. The beings pretend to have the secret of life and death, but it is God who is the creator; the beings of the wild, who taught man many things, have also deceived him.

This theistic orientation is not peculiar to Bagre but is found in many of the shorter stories that it is convenient to label 'folktales' and which LoDagaa children (and some adults) are only too

¹ Though *na* can mean 'chief', the LoDagaa did not traditionally have chiefs in the usual sense. *Na* was applied to a leader in a whole variety of activities and its usage was essentially relative to a particular context of social action.

² If this were so, it would no longer be true that one did not sacrifice to God. To the Bagre deity (*Bo wen*) one certainly makes such offerings.

³ K. G. queries my emphasis here. 'In the myth we do not know how the first man (*to ble*) was created nor how all other beings and creatures came into existence. But it is common knowledge that they were created by God (*Naangmin*). To these various creatures God gave each their various powers, except to innocent man in his natural state. Had these creatures not tempted and polluted man's mind, there would perhaps have been direct communication between God and man. However, the myth tells us of the invasion by the *kontome* of man's life—teaching him both good and evil, only to deny it later before God.'

delighted to tell. Like most ethnographers, I collected a mass of such tales, though I rarely heard them recited in a natural context.

In a collection of seventy-nine such tales, the main actors were people and animals; the only supernatural agencies to appear were God (in eight tales) and the beings of the wild (in five); the Earth, the ancestors, the medicine shrines, none of these were introduced. The collection may not be altogether typical; it came largely from children, who are the main tellers of tales. But the agencies that appear provide a surprisingly close parallel to those in the Bagre myth. In other words, the powers to whom the LoDagaa appeal in sacrifice, prayer, and oath are not those with which either myth or folk-tales are concerned. This fact suggests that we need to rethink radically the role of myth in relation to cosmology and to culture. In itself, it is no charter for the system of religious action, much less the key to culture.

How do we explain the partial character of LoDagaa myth and folk-tales? It would be inappropriate to look for an explanation in particularistic terms, for we find a very similar situation in another group in northern Ghana whose culture, society, and traditions are very different. The Gonja were organized as a state and their religious practices were much influenced by Islam. However, their stories have a surprisingly similar array to those of the LoDagaa in that of all the supernatural agencies at their disposal only God and the beings of the wild (the jinn of Islamic tradition) play significant parts.

The two contexts in which God stands out are both ones of considerable verbal elaboration; they are narratives of varying degrees of formality, elaborateness, and standardization. They are also, in part, didactic situations; in the Bagre the rites and their background are being 'explained' to the neophytes; in the folk-tales, the old are addressing the young, or the young are repeating among themselves what they have learnt. It is particularly important to remember that, despite the accepted idea of the storyteller entertaining the multitude, these tales are largely directed to, or recounted by, the young. Such is also the situation in the other parts of northern Ghana in which I have worked and Father Fortier says of the Sara tales that he collected . . . 'dans chaque famille aussi, le père souvent, et plus encore les femmes — tante ou grand-mère — transmettent aux enfants les histoires de *Sú*, ou des contes modernes' (1967: 45).

The prominence of God in these contexts seems related to their verbal and didactic nature. In this way Bagre resembles, partially at least, the universalistic churches of Eurasia, for it provides a general 'theological' umbrella for the innumerable medicine and other shrines that individuals possess. God emerges as an explanatory principle rather than as an active ingredient of LoDagaa religion. His position, as an otiose God, is a function of the problem of evil. As the creator, he is good and omnipotent. If he were to continue in his primordial role, our problems would not exist. With his aid, disease, evil, and misfortune could be banished. This is the clear, explicit message of Bagre (B. 5361).

But misfortune does exist and hence God is not among us. We have to deal as best we may with other agencies, who are in a sense creatures of God, inferior to him, yet not simply manifestations or refractions of him; for they carry on an independent existence, come into conflict with him, reject his ways, and yet are more potent as far as mankind is concerned because they are with us materially and have not distanced themselves from us in the way God has.

It is this ambiguous position of God, omnipotent but powerless, that adds one dynamic aspect to the religion of the LoDagaa, as well as of many other peoples of the western Sudan. For given this situation, there is always the possibility of drawing God back into the human situation. This is how I interpret the argument of part of the Black Bagre, as well as the phenomenon of 'the little God' to which I have already referred, and the continuing movement of peoples like the LoDagaa into (and out of) the world religions like Islam and Christianity. The LoDagaa invariably identify *Naang-min* with the Allah of the Moslems and the Jehovah of the Christians. There is no problem here; it is only his role that differs in these religions, partly because they are literate, and are therefore more concerned with explanation, and partly because they are more universalistic, and are therefore less concerned with particularistic features like ancestors, totems, and local shrines or Baals.

But there is another aspect to the Bagre myth, which is especially significant as it is the only extensive text of this kind to emerge from Africa. Whether you look at the cosmological aspects of the Bagre, or at its symbolic content, or at the position of God, you find that the Bagre myth takes up a special position. This

position is not wrong, but on the other hand it is not right. Or rather it is partial. It provides the solution to no cryptogram, breaks no code; it is only part of the total picture.

Perhaps the clearest indication of this is that the society is itself an association in which all need not join; secondly, it belongs to a category of secret societies which, while more permanent than the healing cults, are nevertheless on the move from one group to the next and finally, though the LoDagaa have this long, explicit systematized, cosmological myth, neighbouring societies do not. Which leads me to conclude that myth (in the sense in which I use the word) does not have the central role in human cultures that Malinowski, Lévi-Strauss, and others have assigned, but is in many ways peripheral, changing, the sort of thing that mankind can take or leave. The function which writers and anthropologists have alike assigned it seems in part a reflex of the greater fragmentation of beliefs in industrial society; these authors appear at times to be harking back to a state of greater certainty of myth, classification, and structure than their present situation can offer.

THE BAGRE ASSOCIATION

AMONG people whose social life and religion I have briefly outlined, the Bagre association holds an important place, both because of its performances and because of its myth. But in contradistinction to some of those who have analysed 'initiatory' procedures in other parts of West Africa, I would stress at the outset that this cult does not seem intrinsic to LoDagaa culture. I mean by this that in any given locality membership is voluntary;¹ there are LoDagaa communities where it is not performed, nor is it confined to any one 'people', any one cultural, linguistic, or ethnic group. Of the settlements in which I worked, it was of great significance in Birifu and of very little in Tom, anyhow at the time I was there, partly due to Christian influence.

In Birifu the three years 1950, 1951, and 1952 saw the performance of the long series of ceremonies by at least one lineage or clan sector during every dry season. On each occasion the ceremonies occupied the attention of most of the senior men in the community over many weeks, drew large numbers of people (from without as well as from within the parish), and huge quantities of grain and fowl were consumed.

The name

In referring to this sequence of ceremonies, I have used the term Bagre throughout, since this is the most common form in which the word is found among the Dagari-speaking peoples (Labouret 1931: 461; *baghr*, Girault 1959: 334). But in fact the form used in

¹ Although the myth stresses the importance of entering Bagre because

'If you are not a member,
you'll never hear
about your grandfathers'
affairs' (4552-5),

in fact this is not altogether true. Bagre not only represents an esoteric form of knowledge, little used even in ritual affairs, but it is quite possible to be learned without it.

Birifu is Bɔɔre, following one of the regular sound shifts that occur in this dialect.

The root is the same as the Tallensi *boyar*, which Fortes translates as 'shrine' (1949: 6). In Birifu its meaning is best brought out by recourse to the words of a LoDagaa: 'If you dream on the mat (*fũũ zan a seung puɔ*), you go to a diviner, who will tell you which shrine (*tiib*) [or other mystical agency] is troubling you. He will then *buu a bɔɔ*.' This last phrase can be translated as 'look what sacrifice needs to be made', or 'find out the mystical cause'; indeed the diviner is known as a *bɔɔbuuro* (LD. *bagbuura*). When you are told what is wrong you sacrifice a fowl to the shrine, an action for which the LoDagaa use the phrase *o maal a bɔɔ*, 'he makes good the mystical trouble'. The term *Bɔɔre* or *Bagre* used as a title for this association is recognized as being of the same root as an ordinary sacrifice because in both cases 'they kill fowl' (A. 41).

The distribution

The Bagre association is found among the Dagari-speaking peoples of northern Ghana and the adjacent parts of the Ivory Coast and the Upper Volta. That is to say, local 'lodges' occur in settlements belonging to the various peoples of the LoDagaa cluster, namely, the LoWiili (Fr. Oulé), the DagaaWiili, the LoDagaba (Fr. Dagari), and the LoBirifor. It has also spread to Dagaba (Engl. Dagarti) groups and to some LoWilisi (or 'true' Lobi) communities in the vicinity of Gaoua. But the distribution is uneven and it is important in some communities and not in others, its appeal varying over time like that of medieval saints of the Catholic Church.

Other societies of this general kind are found among the same peoples (occasionally in the same settlement), notably the Gyoro or Dyoro described by Henri Labouret (1931). Neither the Gyoro nor the Bagre are associated with masks.¹ But these so-called 'secret societies' are widely distributed through the savannah country of West Africa, and the secrecy of the rites is often reinforced by the use of masks, voice disguisers, raffia dresses, and other ways of pretending that man is something other than he ordinarily is.

In northern Ghana such associations are characteristic of the

¹ In Gaoua the Bagre appears to make use of a mask on the shrine to *Bo wen*; such masks are current among the LoWilisi.

western part, an area that has other material features which link it to the Mande culture area,¹ most obviously the flat-roofed house and the xylophone. Some associations, like the Sigma of the Vagala and of other Grusi groups, make use of animal masks; other masked societies used to be found among the Moslem groups in the western Gonja town of Bole, a probable indication of Ligby and Senufo influence. In other words, such societies are found among pagans and Moslems alike, in both acephalous and state systems, though never I think among the ruling groups in these states, a fact of importance in political terms.

The Dirt Bagre and the Oil Bagre

The Bagre association has two major sects, only one of which will be found in a particular parish. In Birifu, when the time comes to whitewash the initiates, they are painted in white stripes. It is this procedure that gives its name to one of the sects as well as to the first and main set of entrance ceremonies, both of which are known as *Bo pla*, the White Bagre. This form of Bagre is also known as the Dirt Bagre (*Bo dir*, LD. *Bo deyr*), the term 'dirt' having a double reference here to the chalk dug from out of the earth, and to the state of impurity of the neophytes, which is given greater stress in this sect.² In the adjacent parish of Babile, the ritual takes another form, known as *Bo kãã*, the Oil Bagre. The difference between the two forms lies primarily in the way the neophytes are marked during the *Bo pir* (Whitening) ceremony, when they are set aside from ordinary human company. At this time the Oil Bagre uses the fat prepared from the shea nut to rub on the arms and bodies, though whitewash is put on the face itself. The Dirt Bagre, on the other hand, uses the whitewash to cover the whole body of its would-be members in white stripes, though the whitewash is in fact referred to as 'oil'.

The act of whitening also appears in closely parallel ritual contexts, especially at the burial ceremony when a widow (and to a lesser extent a widower) is covered all over—not simply painted in stripes. Bagre, I was told, 'is [like?] a funeral'. And as in a funeral, the whitewash does not simply set one apart; it purifies you of

¹ For an account of such ceremonies among the Bambara see Zahan (1960).

² The situation is more complex than this brief statement allows. The neophytes are not so much impure in themselves as (like children) standing in danger from the impurity of others. This is why they cannot sleep with women.

your sins (such as forbidden sexual intercourse), it protects you from misfortune (e.g. the return of the ghost), and at the same time it has the power to harm or to kill the wearer, if he fails to confess his sin.¹

There are some other differences between the two sects. Whereas in the Dirt Bagre the neophytes are forbidden to attend markets or funerals until the very end, in the Oil Bagre they are taken around the market before the performances are finished. This opposition between the two sects forms part of the instruction given to the neophytes in the course of the ceremony itself (W. 4441). And it is stressed even more in informal contexts. For the initiates of the Dirt Bagre say they stand in fear of the others because their prohibitions are less stringent (they are said to permit sexual intercourse) and their performances more hurried; they only decide to perform Bagre when they see the size of the harvest (2641). Nevertheless such opposition is of a strictly limited kind, for the adherents of the different rituals attend each other's performances as well as interacting in other contexts of social action. As the myth again suggests (W. 4430), attendance at different rites may lead to an assimilation of ritual forms and hence to further differentiation and diffusion among the lodges of the same sect. This process is recognized by the actors, for two lineages will speak of themselves as having the same Bagre medicine, that is as having obtained the ritual from the same source, accounting in this way for the similarities in their performances. At the same time they recognize that even lineages that make such a claim may differ in other aspects of their procedures, as is the case with the Naayili and Kyaa patrilineages of Birifu. The process of ritual differentiation is a continuous one.

Other associations

There is another society of this general type that has special relationships with Bagre. Just beyond Babile lies the LoDagaba settlement of Tanchera, which is the local centre for the performance of *Dɔɔro*, a cult that is probably associated with the important Gyoro ceremony that occurs in the Bakyé area of the Ivory Coast

¹ K. G. comments: 'The whitewashing of the widow or widower after the funeral (*guo yɔɔra*) is to restrain him or her from doing anything rash, such as committing suicide. This period gives him or her the time to reconcile the inevitable with the evitable. However, in Bagre the whitewash restrains a person from going against the rules laid down (e.g. against sexual intercourse).'

(Labouret 1931: 414). These performances, which again take place mainly at night (and where fire is strictly forbidden), have to be carried out before people see the first whitewashed neophytes of the Bagre, that is, before the guinea corn is cut. Bagre (*Bo pla*) is also performed in Tanchera and I attended parts of both sequences there over a six-day period in October 1950. The same people participate in both and visitors are welcome to the esoteric part of the ritual, which includes characteristic songs, dances, and dress.

I make this point to emphasize that these associations rarely serve as indexes of cultural identity. Like Rotary Clubs and Masonic Orders they transcend local and tribal affiliations. Although at any one time a group obviously either does or does not practice a specific cult, the influence of these associations is seen as capable of extending or contracting. In Birifu the story is often told of how the Dagaba of Jirapa to the east tried to adopt Bagre. When they 'killed' all their initiates, they were unable to revive them since they had used clubs rather than medicine for the purpose. A more recent incident of the same kind was said to have occurred in Biro, on the southern boundary of Birifu. The grandfather of the present headman arranged to perform Bagre but four people were killed and he was told to stop. The reason given for their failure was that, when beginning the Bagre recital, they addressed only the ancestors, the guardian spirits, and the Earth shrine, omitting to call upon the beings of the wild and the (Bagre) deity that play such a central role in the ritual. This reasoning brings out the importance of exact memorization and the correct performance of the ritual, a matter which is constantly brought to the attention of the initiates.

There is one further cult in Birifu which resembles these. It is that of the Night Cow (*tinsɔɔ naab*), which involves the discovery that the cow is really a bull-roarer. The cult has implications for health and well-being, but plays only a very minor part in the social life of the LoDagaa and like Vukālɛ (Goody 1969: 137) it has little to do with the pantheon of supernatural agencies. It seems as if it were an association on the way out and while it is not exclusively for the young (like Vukālɛ), adults do not take it at all seriously, even though it does involve the killing of fowls (526). Given that these associations and cults are mobile over time and space, one would naturally expect to find them on the way out as well as on the way in.

Reasons for joining Bagre

Just as there is decay, so too there is revival and expansion. I myself met two elders from Birifu who had made a journey of about 100 miles southwards into Gonja in order to revive Bagre in a LoBirifor settlement where it had not been performed for a number of years.

There are many reasons for the spread and contraction of these cults. But from the actors' standpoint what counts is their success or failure in promoting and maintaining health (in the widest sense). It is often ill health, or the fear of ill health, that leads a person to join himself or to enter his child. In fact, a person does not join but is 'caught' (*nyɔ*) by Bagre, a state which is revealed by the diviner when he is approached on that individual's behalf. Either because of a diviner's diagnosis or in order to prevent a future misfortune, the individual's father will have him made a member when a suitable opportunity arises. If for example a child has a guinea-worm which will not get better, then his father goes to consult a diviner. If the latter attributes the sickness to *Bagr ngmin* (say the LoDagaba, who do not use the term *wen*), you should spurt water on the child. For 'the Bagre god has caught you' (*Bagr ngmin wa nyɔ fu bin*) and the child must be made a member when the ceremony is next performed. Thus the specific reasons for putting anyone into Bagre are largely 'medical', to 'ward off trouble' (see B. 1346).

Not everyone belongs, for the expense is heavy (requiring much guinea corn and many fowls) but its membership covers some 75 per cent of the population. Initiates enter at all ages. It is generally the case that the richer the family the earlier the age of entry, reinforcing the idea that it is regarded on one level as a kind of insurance. And since it is the responsibility of the father (or the husband of a married woman) to look after the health of his dependants, it is his responsibility to see them through the Bagre.

It is the health aspect, too, that means there is a wide age-range among the neophytes. For example, the Chief of Nandom (LoDagaba) was an old man when he became a member. He had a sickness that 'troubled him every day; his skin was hot', but when he became initiated the disease was cured. This transformation occurred when the whitewash was put on. As in funeral ceremonies, this act is equivalent to making an exculpatory oath,

usually to the Earth from whence the chalk comes (Goody 1962: 58).

People become neophytes not only when they are ill or after they have recovered from sickness, but also beforehand, in order to prevent the onset of disease (53). Joining after a recovery from sickness is probably the result of a conditional oath to *Bo wen*, made either by the neophyte or by someone on his behalf, which promised that he would become a member if he came through successfully. The same point concerning health is made by Labouret, who attended many ceremonies.

Celles qui se font initier viennent généralement d'être malades et désirent éviter une rechute. Quelquefois aussi, une consultation du devin les a averties que, pour échapper aux dangers les menaçant, il est indispensable qu'elles s'affilient à la secte du Bagré (1931: 461).

He also stresses two other points that my observations confirm, namely, the mobility of the cult and its character at once local and yet international.

Cette confrérie n'est pas purement villageoise, d'ordinaire le prêtre qui instruit de nouveaux adeptes en rassemble de dix à trente ou davantage, appartenant à des agglomérations voisines.

Regarding its mobility, he says that all his informants were agreed that 'this association came from the East, that is, the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast [Ghana], from whence it spread with various modifications', among different linguistic and cultural groups, being especially characteristic of the LoDagaba ('Dagari') and the Wiili ('Oulé'); the LoBirifor of Gaoua in the northern Ivory Coast adopted the cult about 1870 and knew the name of the man who had first introduced it and why he had done so.¹

¹ K. G. comments: 'The frequency of Bagre performance in each sector depends on the ability of the head of the family to carry it out and also on the call of *Bo wen*, which is manifested by unknown disease in one of the non-initiates in the family. Thus in about 1929 *wen* descended in our family and wanted us to perform the Bagre. Unfortunately, according to my father, I was the victim of *wen*, and hence our house had to perform the Bagre again although it had been done a few years back. Similarly in 1939 *wen* descended on our house and demanded a performance. This time Teungdire became the victim of *wen*. The sickness brought by *wen* is normally unknown but usually took the form of a feverish ailment.

'The reason for joining is not necessarily dependent on the descent of *wen*. It is to educate all and sundry in that which brings peace and prosperity. The

The functions of Bagre

If the initial reasons for joining are largely 'medical', the reasons for continuing to participate are mainly social. Each grade of membership has various duties, and progression through the society is a matter of some pride to the individual. The performance of the ceremonies themselves, the food, the beer, the music, the throng of dancers, the subjection of the neophytes to ordeals through which one has successfully passed—all is a source of pleasure to the initiated.

There is another important role that Bagre plays. People aim to perform the main part of the ceremony when the moon is full, for the dancing is a special feature of the rites. The senior spectators sit round and drink from the large pots of beer, while the younger ones dance *Bo bine* up till the performance of Bagre Day, and after that it is *Bo sir* as well.¹ For all it is a time of relaxation and enjoyment. Men and women will sit on the rooftop conversing and drinking beer, simultaneously out of the same gourd if they are on friendly terms, while the young use dancing as a means of courtship. My friend Kpaari deliberately went there with the intention of securing another wife (a good dancer attracts a lot of attention, though some of this is unwelcome and associated with wizardry) and claimed that most marriages were made at this period (45). Bagre is the time for enjoyment and courting.

One minor function of the Bagre is to act as a 'friendly society'. When I visited the aged Tɔntɔl, one of the oldest men in Birifu, he was lying naked on his mat, with only a thin cloth as a cover.

Naayili clan have had several performances through the years but only on these two occasions were they compelled to do it because *Bo wen* had manifested itself. In fact the reasons on medical grounds are rare.² We perhaps need to differentiate the reasons why individuals enter from those that lead a clan sector to undertake a performance; these usually happen at fairly regular intervals.

¹ K. G. comments: '*Bo bine* is the dance danced at Bagre. It is also the name for the tunes played at ordinary dances, known as *dien*: *N kyiera dien zie*, I am going to the place where *bo bine* is played.

² '*Bo sir* is the period from *Bo tinsɔ* to *Bo gyinyire*. The same dance, *Bo bine*, is played continuously for the three days, but at a slower tempo. In Birifu, at ordinary dances (*dien*), the *bo bine* is played first. The dancers dance their fill; towards the end of the night *sir* is played to round off the dance. In Lawra (LoDagaba) it is the other way round. They start with *sir* (LD. *sebr*) and finish with *bine*.

'In Bagre both dances are played interchangeably depending upon the mood both of the players and the dancers, but more *bine* is played in Birifu while the reverse is true in Lawra.'

My companions advised him that as he was a senior member of Bagre, he was entitled to *bo foba*. These clothes, consisting of a smock and baggy trousers, are bought with money collected by the neophytes; what they get is divided into half, one lot going for clothes, one lot to the Bagre 'mother', that is the organizer. Mainly these purchases are used for draping round the funeral stand of a member, especially a poor one, for funerals are always an occasion for display and if you do not have, you borrow. But the living too can wear the clothes; indeed, I was told that since the clothes were *tiib*, that is, bought with money collected through a shrine, they were good to wear as a protection when one travelled abroad, but this use was not generally accepted (154).

Finally, moving from the realm of manifest to latent functions (or rather from functions that are actor-based to those that are observer-based), the integrative aspect of these ceremonies requires some consideration. While such remarks must remain largely impressionistic, I noted that of the two communities, Birifu with Bagre and Tom virtually without, the former is very much more 'integrated', in terms of the making of political decisions, both under party politics as well as under colonial rule, in the resistance to missionary influence, and in general tone. While one cannot relate this difference directly to the performance of Bagre (to which in any case there could be many functional alternatives), it is the case that those ceremonies require the constant and intimate co-operation of the patriclans into which the inhabitants of the settlement are divided.

This co-operation takes place on a number of different levels. In the first place, the main meals are divided out by patriclan. Portions are given to all the patriclans living in the parish and each group eats somewhat apart from the others. No ceremony is complete without the participation of all segments.

Secondly the lineage performing the ceremonies requires other segments to undertake specific services. Certain of these, connected with the ancestors, require the help of other lineages of the same clan. In this case elders from the non-participating lineages address the shrines and carry out the sacrifices. In other cases, a joking partner (*bo lonluwrbe*) is needed to 'make hot things cool'; such partners are always from another clan.

Thirdly, every clan has a number of relationships which are of an occasional kind, but which take on a reciprocating character.

The group invites one or more clans to provide the Speakers to recite the Bagre myth.¹ Another group provides the xylophones that are played in the room. With yet another clan one is accustomed to divide one's share of Bagre produce.²

Finally, the ceremonies themselves are organized by a group of elders from the whole parish, who consult together (but do not always agree) about how the performance should be carried out and who should provide the Speaker during the important parts of the ceremonies—acting on behalf, as it were, of the clan that has been specifically invited. The Bagre performances thus require the interaction, over a long period in the year, of the major segments of the parish at all levels, among the elders, the adults, the young men, and even the children who flock to watch the dancing. Conflict as well as co-operation is the result, but the interaction is close and continuous.

Ritual services: change and exchange

The network of services performed by other groups includes acting as the Speaker, at least for the invocation and on other important occasions. When Maale carried out their Bagre in 1950, it was the senior initiate in Kyaa, Bōyiri, who spoke to their neophytes—*o la so a nuor*, 'he owns the mouth', even for prayers to the ancestors. For Naayili (Wuurader's lineage), the same services were performed by a lineage in their own clan sector, though in earlier

¹ K. G. comments: 'If Naayili are performing the Bagre, they may hire (*yar*) Kyaa to be the main instructors at the Bagre. If Kyaa have not got many leading Speakers, they invite ones from other sectors to help, or even from Naayili itself. Yinkwo and Doyeri from Naayili were always invited to help, even if they were not hired. In this case the helpers are not entitled to a share of the Speakers' lot but because of their services they are normally given something'.

² K. G. comments: 'Until of late there were only a few persons with the big xylophones in Birifu suitable for the Bagre room: Gandaa, Terkoder, and some others. Similarly there were very few people who could play the tunes in the room. So during Chief Gandaa's lifetime his xylophones were always hired for the occasion. Although technically two xylophones (*gyil bere*) were supposed to be provided, the chief normally sent for four for the Bagre tunes and a smaller one (*gyil bil*) for the ordinary dancing.

'In addition to the hired instruments, any other player can bring his own xylophones but he is not entitled to payment. Each neophyte pays one live fowl for the xylophones and another for the drum (*bo kwor nuɔ*). In addition he gives enough malted grain to brew beer (*gyil dāā*) which the hirer gives players assisting him at the ceremony.'

years their partners had been another clan, that is, Baaperi. These arrangements are known as Bagre joking partnerships, at least when outside the patriclan.

A different set of partnerships exists for the sharing of meat. Kyaa share with Naayili (for they have the same Bagre medicine), while Baaperi share with Yongyuole. But the year I attended the Baaperi Bagre, they refused any longer to share in this way, for reasons that were obscure to me. Because of their refusal, the senior men of Kyaa and Maale, Bõyiri and Depep, would not attend their performances; 'if you reject your partners (*dibzie*, place of eating), you spoil (*sãñ*) the Bagre'. The result was that Baaperi entered into a new partnership, while Yongyuole were discussing what to do. The critical time would not come until Bagre was performed in their own section, but meanwhile the problem was talked over on sundry occasions. I heard one suggestion that they should share with Kyaa, but another man present pointed out that Kyaa was already sharing with Naayili and they would only get a return of half of what they gave (906). The calculation of reciprocity was quite specific.

I mention this point in order to make it clear that, as with the exchanges of services in funeral ceremonies (Goody 1962: 65), partnerships of this kind are subject to many pressures to change. At any one point in time such arrangements look permanent enough; but new alignments are constantly in the process of formation.

The reasons for these changes are many. Firstly, reciprocity in food depends largely on equality of numbers. When one group increases, it receives less by way of concrete benefits from its earlier partners (906). Secondly, disputes and disagreements over other matters are reflected in the Bagre partnerships; if another type of debt remains unsettled, you may refuse to meet your Bagre obligations. This is the point where political considerations of various kinds enter in; and the result of such a withdrawal may be that the allies of one's former partners boycott the proceedings, as happened with Bõyiri and Depep at the Bagre ceremonies of 1950. Non-attendance at ceremonies is one of the most common ways of expressing disapproval. As with resignation from committees, others are sure to ask the reason why. But in any case to attend a ceremony that one believes is being wrongly performed is to invite mystical trouble (Goody 1962: 104).

Recruitment

While the Bagre association is organized on a parish basis, its ceremonies are conducted on a lineage level. Any year the performance is arranged by a particular clan sector such as Naayili or Kyaa (or one of their constituent lineages), and only members of that group can become neophytes. This number can include female as well as male members; even if they have married out, women retain membership of their natal clans for this and other purposes. There were forty-two neophytes at the Bagre held by Maale in 1950, including the wife of Bizoola, a teacher from the house of the late chief. While the father has the responsibility of putting a daughter through Bagre, he will be reimbursed by the husband since she has now joined another household. For both sons and daughters, the father (known in this context as the *Bo ma* or 'Bagre mother') has to collect the very considerable amount of grain and chickens required for the performance. But this responsibility changes over time depending on the bridewealth status of the daughter. The LoDagaa pay bridewealth in a series of instalments, the largest of which is made when a woman has borne her husband two or three children and has therefore 'built his house'. When this payment (*doë*) has been made, the woman becomes one of 'our housepeople' (*lieb a ti yirsob*); 'She observes our taboos (*kyiiru*) and we will induct her into our Bagre.'

It might appear as if the woman has now become a member of her husband's lineage, and this certainly is one meaning of the phrase *lieb a ti yirsob*. But she still remains a member of her natal group for some purposes and at her final funeral ceremony it is to her father's people that her ancestor shrine is carried by her clan sisters. I should add that the observance of one's husband's taboos occurs earlier in a marriage and is a matter partly of religion, partly of respect, partly of convenience. A woman observes these taboos while she is pregnant 'because of the child inside' (2788); for the child will belong to its father's patriclan as well as to its mother's matriclan. But a woman who wishes to show respect to her husband may well observe his prohibitions at other times; there is nothing to stop one observing extra prohibitions; it is only the minimum that is laid down.

In Birifu there is no set order for the lineages or clan sectors to perform their Bagre. In 1950 the Maale and Baaperi sections were

in action; in 1948 Kyaa had performed; in 1949 there was nothing; in 1951 Naayili (Wuurader's lineage) and Kyaa (Konkyol's lineage) had theirs. In 1952 Ngmanbili proper decided to hold their performances. The question is left to a particular lineage because they have to decide, on the basis of preliminary inquiries, whether there is enough grain, fowls, and potential initiates to perform it successfully. The actual choice of initiates will rest with the sponsors themselves, since it is they who have to produce the grain. These individual decisions are crystallized at the first ceremony, the Asperging of the Initiates (*Bo puzru*) which is also known as *Bii yir*, Choosing the Children. The particular house at which the Bagre takes place is an ordinary compound known as the *Bo yir* (the house of Bagre), which is special only in that it has the Bagre shrine (*Bo wen*) in the neck of the granary that protrudes through the roof and must have a long room (*kyaaara*) large enough for the performances 'in the room'. The head of this house is known as the *Bo sob*, the owner of Bagre. He has to be a senior member, otherwise he would not possess the Bagre shrine and its 'medicine'.

Bagre roles

The senior men in Bagre (there is at least one from each clan sector) are known as the Bagre Speakers (*Bo netuuri*), those whose mouth (words) you follow. It is they who recite (*kaabena*, a verb used only for ritual speech, prayer; or *kɔra*) and the neophytes repeat the lines after them. In the White Bagre, the Speakers do all the reciting, while the others follow. But in the Black Bagre, as the myth explains, they are not the only ones who do so. Anyone who has learnt the words may be asked to take a turn (W. 4430).¹ Among the LoDagaba, the senior Speaker, the one who starts the Bagre, is sometimes known as the *zangbaalsob*, the owner of the *zangbaal* or top slat of the xylophone, which often lacks the usual gourd hanging underneath as a sounding box. The same slat is also called '*paaro zie*'; *o'paarena* describes the regular rhythmic beating of this slat, which acts as an accompaniment to the melody, especially when there is no second xylophone being played. As the Speaker recites, the rhythm is beaten out, for example, on one of the

¹ K. G. comments: 'Permission is first granted and when he accepts to lead he has to thank the person giving him permission as well as all those people inside and outside before continuing from where the recitation left off. He does not actually sit on the stool but stays at his place. Usually the reciters stand when the Black Bagre is chanted.'

wooden troughs used for feeding pups. This man is known in Birifu as the xylophone player (*gyil kpiere*). In the Black Bagre, he also shakes a rattle to the rhythm of the verse. The rhythm differs substantially in the White and Black recitations, the former being slow and measured, the latter being quick and chanted.

The accompaniment is especially important in the invocation with which the White Bagre begins, for this is a kind of greeting or prayer. First the Speaker taps (greet) the Earth shrine (*ngme a tengaan*), then he taps on the gods (*ngme a ngmin zu*), then on all the ancestors. This invocation is repeated at various times in the Bagre recitation, forming a general appeal to supernatural agencies.

'The owner of the slat' is also known as *semaansob*, owner of the farm (2236), who was described to me as the *tengaansob* (custodian of the Earth shrine) within the Bagre. He will take the leg of the sacrificial fowl normally reserved for the Earth priest, for example at the opening ceremony. He takes it to the lineage of the Earth priest, who first accept it, then give it back, saying 'If you want to eat it, do so; if you want to throw it away, do so.'

The 'Bagre mother' (*bo ma*) is a name used for any senior member from whose house people are becoming neophytes (167).¹ But it also refers more specifically to the owner of the house in which Bagre is taking place. Some restrictions are placed upon all 'Bagre mothers', for they cannot both sleep with their wives and eat Bagre food. The domain of the family and the domain of the fraternity are kept apart by this prohibition, and the same split is given explicit recognition in the text, where the conflict of obligations to kin and colleague is brought out in the discussion of the way in which the game killed in the Bagre hunt is divided (B. 2480).

Finally, there are the guides (*bo kyine*, lit. herders). It is the guide's responsibility to watch over his neophyte and to see that no harm comes to him. For this reason he has to avoid certain actions. In the Final Funeral Ceremony, persons standing in various relationships to the dead man (all of them 'orphans') sit round his quiver, which is his material representation. At one point they draw out the arrows and keep them. If a person who at that time is acting as a guide does this, he should at once go and bury the arrow in a swamp. If he puts the arrow in his own quiver he might kill an animal which his charge would eat; if the neophyte did so, he would die (3083). He has been brought into contact with death.

¹ As, for example, in the song on p. 100.

The grades of Bagre

There are two main stages of Bagre, the White and the Black. Those who have passed the first grade are known as *bo pele* (sing. *bo pla*); those who have passed the second grade are known as *bo sɔɔli* (sing. *bo sɔɔla*). Alternative names for the second graders or senior initiates are *bo kyuur dem*, referring to the skin bag acquired on this occasion; or *gan dem*, referring to the leather bottle used to hold the marked cowries. There is another stage which one must reach before a son or daughter is initiated; persons who have passed this stage are known as *bo tĩ dem* (or *kyiili dem*), referring to the Bagre medicine that they now possess.

The ceremonies that I describe later relate mainly to initiation into the first grade. There is only one ceremony for the second grade, which lasts a single night. Junior members (*bo pele*) have to act as assistants or guides to the new entrants. Each neophyte also requires the help of a senior member in the most crucial rituals. Only they can perform the major roles in Bagre and only they can act as sponsors (*bo ma*) of new entrants; indeed, to be a sponsor a man has to reach the third stage of 'owner of the Bagre medicine' used to kill and revive the initiates.

In addition to these two grades, there is also the category of non-initiates (*dakume*), which includes those who have not yet been initiated, or those who are forbidden to join the society.¹ Finally, there are the new entrants themselves who are in the process of going through the ceremonies (*bobil*, little Bagre members); these I refer to as neophytes or novices. Members are known generally as *bo kari*. While women can become members, they can only be first graders, except in very special circumstances.

Bagre equipment

The material equipment is given to the neophytes at the Whiten-ing Ceremony; it consists of a small round gourd (*kuɔr*), an iron bell (*gbelme*) and a skin bag (*wuo*) in which to keep them; however, the gourd is destroyed at the end of the Bagre dance. Initiation to the second grade leads to the acquisition of a leather bottle (*gan*), together with some marked cowries, another skin bag (*bo kyuur*). The Bagre medicine (*tĩ*, *kyiili*) itself is acquired during

¹ The same word is used in connection with other such associations (e.g. Dyooro and the Night Cow).

every ritual series, since each man wanting to enter his housepeople has first to get the medicine.

Apart from the medicine, this equipment is similar to that employed by diviners; the bell is always associated with the beings of the wild and is used to call upon them to assist in the fact-finding process. But in the Bagre the only time the 'divinatory' apparatus is used is at the end of the Bagre Dance and at the death of a senior member. Even this is a mock divination and the tools that are given to the initiate resemble those given to Masons when they are made members of a lodge. Among the LoDagaa, Bagre is not in fact an initiation into a diviners' association, such as exists in parts of Gonja (in Busunu, for example); it is concerned to offer some protection (as the myth insists at the very beginning) against the misfortunes of life, *dune non*, *kure piime*, the biting of scorpions, the taking of one's life, a brand of protection not offered by other 'deities'. These mystical problems are the very ones that are raised at the beginning of the recitation; they worried the elder of the two 'first men', so that he could not sleep and went off to consult a diviner, who showed him the way, the Bagre way. Parents are under great pressure to do their best for their children by providing them with ritual prophylactics. By entering Bagre, the text goes, 'we seek a head that sits on our shoulders'. Not only is knowledge acquired but also protection against death, disease, and similar misfortunes.

This medicine is used in the gravest of the rites of the White Bagre, that in which the neophytes are killed and then revived. Here the latent function of slaughter and resurrection, of death and rebirth, is similar to that found in many other such performances, from the cult of Osiris to the Order of Freemasons. But from the actor's standpoint, the ritual has a different, manifest function: it bears witness to the concern about death and disease, and about the possibility of overcoming death which the Bagre medicine holds out. This is a concern not about the after-life (though ideas on this are expressed in the course of a funeral), but about death as the end of life and as the punishment for, or result of, wrong-doing.

In the second recitation, the comfort that the Bagre medicine offers to the neophyte in its promise of resurrection is shown to be illusory, but membership of the society may still ward off death and disease, even if it cannot repair the ultimate damage they do.

And for the actors, or at any rate for their sponsors, it is this comfort that is in the long run more important than the opportunity to eat one's fill, to meet one's peers and kin, and to advance one's status in the community, though these considerations are all relevant to the analysis of such performances.

An individual's Bagre bag is returned and destroyed at his burial ceremony; so too is the medicine and the other accoutrements. And whether the dead man had a diviner's container or a Bagre container, his colleagues will sit at the foot of the funeral stand (*paala per*) on which his body rests and proceed to divine (*buura bɔɔ*).¹ The interlocking nature of divinatory and Bagre procedures and concepts is apparent in these acts. Though it was repeatedly denied to me that Bagre was an association of diviners, the word for divine is *buura bɔɔ* (or *bag*), finding the cause of the mystical trouble; that is to say, the only word for 'divine' or 'diviner' incorporates the word *Bagre*, and the Bagre society does involve divination on these formal occasions, though never at other times.² For ordinary divination, one uses the *kɛntɛm gan*,³ not the *Bo gan* (or *kpo*) of the Bagre. It is the *kɛntɛm* or beings of the wild that guide the diviner and they are the ones (the topic receives a great deal of theological attention in the Black Bagre) who guide the Bagre. Thus my friend Bōyiri's remark to me, early in our acquaintance, was very significant. 'The container of the beings of the wild', he remarked, 'is the more important. The *kɛntɛm* own the Bagre (*so a bɔɔ*); it is they who seize the neophytes (*bɛ nyora bobil*)' (402). I was told this at Daazie's burial. On the second day, a representative of each lineage in the clan sector gathered at his feet to

¹ The Bagre divination is carried out at the foot of the funeral stand by the senior members present. They will divine three times with the Bagre container (*Bo gan* or *yuon gan*, outside container) and three times with the being's container (*kɛntɛm gan* or *diu gan*, room container). Money is collected and shared among the other clans of the parish, though not by the dead man's group (504).

² K. G. notes that the diviners' invocation is also repeated in the Black Bagre, though I did not record it in the present instance. 'They often greet the strangers in the crowd, asking for a quick mind and a tongue that does not falter. They go on to greet the outside creatures (that is, the other shrines outside the house) and then the inside ones. They greet the hills, the rivers, the Earth shrine in their own village and later greet similar beings and things in the neighbouring settlements. Thus in Birifu they would greet Babile, Tugu, Tanchera, Kwō-nyūkwo, Meto, Manduor, Gbetuor and similar places before starting the actual story.'

³ *Gan* . . skin; both *gan* and *kpo* refer to the leather bottle in which a diviner or a member keeps his cowries.

'divine' with his Bagre container. One man was handed the leather bottle and shook out two cowries at a time until they landed favourably (one up, one down). The container was then handed to the next man, who did the same. This was not true divination: the participants are essentially 'taking out the dream', that is, separating themselves from the memory of a man with whom they had performed these acts in the past. In other parts they throw the cowries on the first day of the burial ceremony and continue every morning and evening for the three days it lasts (2473).

When the body has been interred, the Bagre container is also buried, and a chicken is given to the man who does it and a hen to those who 'divined'. The leather container holding the Bagre medicine is placed in an ant-hill, so that it will be utterly destroyed by the termites (2473). At this time three fowls are killed, roasted, and distributed among the second graders present.

At the second of the major funeral ceremonies, the Hot Funeral Beer, beer is specially brewed for the senior members of Bagre, the *bokyurdāā*. The joking partners take some of the top of one of the pots (*bɛ vuona a nuɔr a dāā iɔng*), throw some cowries and then take a gourd full of the beer to the ancestor shrines.

At the Final Funeral Ceremony of a Bagre member there is more divination with the *kpo*. When they throw the cowries (*loba libie*), they sing a catchy Bagre song (*bɛ ngmicri bagr*), in which they salute various categories of diviners.

They greet all diviners that use the stick (*dakuorsob*);
Bɛ puri a bagbuuri zaa

They greet the owners of books with their pens (those who
divine with books),
bɛ puri a gandem ni bɛ magdaali

they greet those who read the sand.
bɛ puri a biir ngmicrɛ.

They also salute a number of animals and places connected with divination and with the beings of the wild. They greet the *bur lani*, a fish that swims alongside a canoe, which it can sink with a bone; a fish that listens to what is being said (in the boat and elsewhere), and tells it to the River, where the beings live.

They greet the River Volta, *na man*, chief of rivers. And they greet the hippopotamus (*'yen*) and the stinging fish (*man garka*).

The whole greeting corresponds to the opening invocation of an Ashanti diviner, which acknowledges the major categories of supernatural being, of the natural world, and of former practitioners, before going on to deliver the message.

Bagre prohibitions

A wide variety of prohibitions is placed upon those undergoing the initiatory rituals. Some are general restrictions placed on the behaviour of all who attend. For example, there is a prohibition on 'fighting' (i.e. quarrelling) during the course of the ceremonies, an example of the widespread institution of 'ritual peace' found on such occasions. Another general ban is on sexual intercourse, a ban which also obtains in hunting and in war. In these essentially male activities, the 'dirt' that comes from sleeping with a woman has a damaging effect on the individual; but the point is also that medicines are frequently seen as being weakened by the sexual act.

Other actions are prohibited during a specific ceremony, for instance the drinking of water or beer out of a calabash from which someone else has just drunk. The most important of these specific taboos are those on eating certain new crops. These foods include both wild and domestic varieties, namely the shea fruit, bean leaves, beans, yams, and bambara beans. Before the appropriate ceremony has been performed, the neophyte is forbidden to eat them, on pain of heavy fines and even expulsion from the proceedings.¹

The food taboos are thus progressively raised as the performances go on, somewhat in the manner discussed by Radcliffe-Brown for the Andamans (1922). But the items prohibited are not always ones that have any great importance outside the context of the Bagre itself. From the actor's standpoint, some of them, such as the shea fruit, are prohibited because when they are ripe they indicate the time for beginning one of the performances.

If these prohibitions can be said to indicate 'ritual value' (and I hold no brief for this particular formula), they do so only partly in relation to the objects tabooed. They also emphasize the 'ritual value' of the fraternity itself, whose procedures are thereby set aside from those of the daily round (the sacred set off against the profane, but again the formula obscures as much as it reveals), and made perhaps more awesome as well, especially since the break-

¹ The list given in the White Bagre includes guinea corn, ground-nut soup, and chicken.

ing of a prohibition is thought to entail severe supernatural sanctions. For the actor, certainly, the taboos have more than emblematic significance, though this is reasonably seen as one of their latent functions.

Finally, there is a category of prohibitions which one acquires as a member of the fraternity itself. One rule of this kind is the prohibition on resting a gourd from which you are drinking on one of the grass rings used by women to support a pot of beer on the head. Such prohibitions mark off a member of the society from the mere uninitiated; like the Masonic handshake, they quietly identify members.

The Bagre calendar

As the myth relates, the timing of the Bagre ceremonies usually turns upon the ripening of the new crops that are forbidden to the neophytes. When these are ready, there is a danger that the novices may do wrong by eating the forbidden food before the appropriate ceremony has been performed. Hence the organizers make haste to arrange for the malted grain to be collected and the beer to be brewed so that the ceremony can be held two days later.

The first ceremony, the Asperging of the Neophytes, has no specific season. I have known it done in August although the main sequence of rites does not begin until the following June. Indeed it is often combined with the first of the main series, that is the Announcement of Bagre, which takes place when the fruit of the shea tree is ripe. This ceremony is associated with the legend of the large fruit-bat who came across a shea fruit after a quarrel with his mate about sexual intercourse, which had been refused. Because of his help in discovering the first of the new crop, the fruit-bat is the foremost in the category of 'Bagre animals' (B. 3702). Most of the other 'Bagre animals' (W. 4583) are also associated with the timing of ceremonies but in a more specific way. Some recurrent aspect of their behaviour indicates the time of year when a rite should be held.

The Announcement of Bagre is followed soon afterwards by the Bagre of Beans (in fact, of bean leaves used for soup). There follows a gap while the major crops are harvested and the ceremonies begin again in early December with the preparation of the medicine, followed by the Whitening Ceremony. The remainder continue at intervals of a week (that is, a six-day week) and are

completed by mid January, the ceremonies in any one sequence normally starting on the same week-day each time.

In the following table I list the ceremonies that took place in or near the settlements in which I lived during the years 1950 to 1952.

The Bagre timetable

	Birifu 1950-51		Elsewhere
	Baaperi	Maale	
1. Bo puoru (Asperging the Neophytes)			
2. Bo wuur (The Announcement of Bagre)			
3. Bo biong (The Bagre of Beans)			
4. Bo tiĩ dāā (The Beer for the Bagre Medicine)	1/12	They did not do it this year as they had done it last.	
5. Bo pir (The Whitening Ceremony)	7/12	8/12	Tugu 2/12 Tanchera 3/12 Babili 13/12
6. Kengmir (The Beating of the Malt)	19/12	16/12	
7. Bo sior (The Bagre Dance)	25/12	31/12	Tanchera 27/12 Tugu 25/12 Nadoli 19/1
8. Bo tuur (Bagre Gifts)		3/1	
9. Bo gbelme (Bagre Bells)	6/1	12/1	
10. Tiib puru (Bo paal dāā) (Thanksgiving)		17/1	

1951-2		1952-3	
Birifu		Gwo	Birifu
Naayili	Kyaa	Bekuone	Ngmanbili
1. 8/5	} 5/7		
2. 2/5			
3. 29/6		25/6	
4.			26/11
5.			2/12

This is the sequence of ceremonies that I describe in Chapter 5 and that are discussed in the first part of the myth, the White Bagre. The White Bagre begins with a visit to the diviner, which is what usually prompts a father to enter his child. The Asperging

of the Neophytes is referred to straight away (W. 45). This is followed by the Bagre of Beans (W. 209), when they eat the bean leaves. Then they eat new yams (W. 364). This leads on to the Ceremony of the Bean Flower (W. 557), which is connected with the old guinea cock and his mate; now beans are eaten. They had, however, omitted to perform the Announcement of Bagre (W. 741), which is associated with the large fruit-bat and his mate, and with the prohibition on shea nuts, which are made into butter. They measure the grain for beer (W. 1081) and return to this ceremony.

When the harvest is in and the dry season upon them, the Whitening Ceremony begins (W. 1600). This involves collecting 'shea oil' (whitewash), fibre, and a small gourd. After the Whitening Ceremony the neophytes collect grain and are given detailed instructions as to how this should be done. It is at the Beating of the Malt that they start to collect fowls (the text referring to this ceremony appears to begin at W. 2226).

They discuss the Beating of the Malt in some detail (W. 2440). But the being of the wild interferes and they start on the performances for Bagre Eve, which is that part of the main ceremony of the Bagre Dance where the neophytes are killed. The neophytes are indeed killed but the elders are unable to revive them. It appears that the Beating of the Malt has been omitted (W. 2925). The being of the wild awakens the neophytes, but they had to return to the Beating of the Malt (W. 3037), with its communal hunt for wild animals. This is followed by the Bagre Dance (W. 3481). Food is prepared and the neophytes are killed (W. 3828). There is still some problem about waking them (W. 4259) but this is done and the appropriate Bagre songs are sung (W. 4352). The instruction is continued (W. 4367) and this ceremony ends with the day called Bo Gyinyiri (W. 4963). A week later there is Bagre Bells (W. 5501) when the bells given to the neophytes are washed. There is another hunt and more confessing and questioning before the ritual sequence ends with the hope that initiates will go on to the second grade, the Black Bagre. The text of the Black Bagre is not itself connected with the ritual sequence nor with the ritual calendar.

THE BAGRE MYTH

The recitation of Bagre

IN the previous chapters I have outlined some facts about the Bagre association and discussed some aspects of its role in the communities where it is found. But from the standpoint of the present volume the most important aspect is the recitation of the Bagre 'myth', which constitutes a unique feature of this particular society. In contrast to other continents, Africa has few recorded myths of this kind, if by this word we refer to a text of the actors rather than the observers, and certainly none of this length or span. In this chapter I discuss some aspects of the recitation and the form it takes.

The Bagre ceremonies are accompanied by the recitation of the 'myth' which serves as a guide to the ritual processes, an explanation of these procedures and a placing of them in a cosmological scheme. The myth is recited in the Bagre room, away from the ears of non-initiates, and it is generally done before as well as during a ceremony. The White Bagre, which contains the order of service, is recited three times up to the point where the particular ceremony is described.

It is usually the senior of the second graders who begins and who recites at least the invocatory passages with which the myths commence. In the White Bagre he is known as the Speaker (*bɔ nɛ-tuure*). In the Black Bagre, the senior man sits on a three-legged stool (*da kɔɔ*) though the reciter is said to be 'in the chair' (*kɔɔ zu*). When he 'leaves the stool', another member has to take up the chant, usually one of the elders, but in fact any second grader, however young, may carry out this task, as is explained in the myth itself (W. 5541). The 'owner of Bagre' has some initiative in whom he 'hires' to be in the chair. This option was once compared in my presence to the act of bringing help to the farm. If you have a close friend (*ba*) and you know he needs help, then you may offer to bring a party to work on his land; or a man may himself indicate that such help would be welcome. In return he provides a large

meal and plenty of beer as a recompense.¹ A man who is arranging Bagre may make a similar request to another patriclan (or perhaps more than one) to provide the Speakers; this does not mean that others may not join in or even initiate the proceedings, but they do so on behalf of the invited group who are the ones entitled to share out whatever is due to the chair.

A premium is placed upon a correct rendering of the myth, though clearly variations creep in and become an accepted part of the recitation. Prestige is accorded to those who can recite the myth and their achievement is rewarded not only by general acclaim but also by special allocations of food and beer, which are said to be 'for the chair'.

A much higher pay-off comes when the Bagre is taken up by another community or when a settlement has forgotten the rites and wishes to perform them again. Here the stated reward is said to be one horse and 100,000 cowries, though this sum does not all accrue to the individuals themselves. Once again this contingency and the related payments are quite explicit in the myth (W. 4379).

The actual recitation is done by a single individual sitting on a chair, who chants the short phrases that constitute the 'lines' of the text as I have recorded it. Each line usually contains two stressed syllables and an indefinite number of unstressed ones, but in a chant of this kind, which does not suffer from the constraints imposed either by a strict musical accompaniment or by the formalizing pressures of written composition, a certain degree of flexibility is present.

¹ K. G. notes that the farming metaphor is also used when one reciter hands over to another. 'For example, if my "father's brother", Yinkwo, was tired and wanted someone to take over he would say:

Kumbɔɔɔ yee	Kumbɔɔɔ,
maa dɔɔ fu	I brought you forth,
ti zɛ bibiiri	but today
faa nye nuɔri	you have seen the plot
ban ngmaa kuma	they cut for me
kā kɔ bɔɔ gu	and I've hoed in vain.
fũũ i bie	But if you are a good lad,
kakuor bie	a real farmer's son,
de n nuɔra	relieve me of my work
kɔ ti tani	and hoe part of it for me.

The term *nuɔri* identifies the verse with the strips of land allocated to farmers in a competitive gathering; *kɔ*, hoe, is identified with the recital; *kakuor bie*, a farmer's son, is the boy who is able to recite the verse.' The metaphor is quite explicit.

The rhythms are different for the White and Black Bagre, the latter being faster and more complex. The recitation is accompanied by a rhythmic beat (again different in both parts). If a sacrifice is being made at a mound, then those present all take a small stone which they beat against one on the ground. If it is a sacrifice to the Bagre deity, then the sacrificial knife beats out the rhythm. At one stage in the ceremony known as the Beating of the Grain, the initiates sit on the roof of the house holding calabashes of water, representing the beer into which the malted grain will be transformed; each man taps the half-full gourd in time with the chanting of the White Bagre.

The Black Bagre has a different rhythm, often beaten out with two old xylophone sticks, whose rubber tips have been worn down with use, upon a wooden plank (*kpambire*) that covers the entrance to the byre, or upon the hollowed-out trough (*baa leung*) used for feeding young pups. The reciter, the *koo zu sob* himself, often holds a rattle which he shakes in the proper rhythm. Some members may accompany him and others too may beat the dog-trough. The reciter chants a line of the myth and this is taken up by the whole assembly. Indeed each recital has to be carried out three times, although time is sometimes saved by two men reciting at once.

The language of Bagre

Henri Labouret describes a special language that is used by Bagre members in the Ivory Coast to communicate with one another; it is formed by adding certain standard syllables to each word, such as English children use in 'eggy-peggy'.¹ The added prefix (*numbum*) makes the language almost unintelligible to outsiders (1931: 465).

The use of special languages is just one of the mechanisms of disguise that characterize such societies, others being the use of masks,² of voice-disguisers,³ and of other forms of concealment

¹ Girault also mentions a secret language of Bagre, but in connection with ordinary funerals. Although I do not understand all the sentence he gives, the majority of the words are not secret nor are they of the kind suggested by Labouret (1959: 352).

² See B. Holas, *Les Masques Kono* (Paris, 1952). A good example of the masks 'disguising' men as ancestors appears in Achebe's novel *Things Fall Apart*, London, 1958, p. 81.

³ See H. Balfour, 'Ritual and Secular Uses of Vibrating Membranes as Voice-disguisers', *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.* 78 (1948), pp. 45-69.

such as darkness, closed rooms, and special forms of behaviour. Where such languages are not of the 'eggy-peggy' variety, they may be borrowed from neighbouring peoples. The secret language of the Gyoro society of the Bakye area apparently belongs to the Grusi group (Labouret 1931: 428); the secret language of the Dogon appears to have Mande or Mossi connections (Leiris 1948: 19).

The Bagre of Ghana has no special language that I know of; the text of the myth is in everyday speech. Nevertheless there are some modifications. Firstly, there are certain formulaic modes of composition that characterize the two myths. When an action is described, it is usually done in three (or at least two) phases. The first indicates that the action is about to take place, the second that it is taking place and the third that it has taken place. The following example is taken from the Black Bagre (B. 173).

Does it please you?
He said it does so.
So he spoke
and when he'd done so . . .

The other linguistic modification consists of words that are special to Bagre. The following are some examples of these usages (2618):

- i. *sambar ata*, in a trice, at once, e.g. *sambar ata ka n'i*, or in ordinary speech, *n na ina pampaana*, I will do it right away. The latter part (*ata*) means thrice in ordinary speech. One cannot use the normal word, *gbaa* (times), in Bagre.
- ii. *aro* (the LoDagaba word) replaces *gbor*, for canoe.
- iii. *o zin kpib* replaces *o zin gbile*, he sits quietly.
- iv. *man gbulu* (or *kpul*) is the big river, the Black Volta (i.e. *man*), or rather a special part at Lawra (1522).
- v. *kolingwie* is *wagya* or *mwo puo*, that is, the far bush. When the white man first came they called him *kwoli* or *bong* (slave) because they did not know from whence he came.
- vi. *mol mol iɔng*. When you see the path and there's nothing to stop you, then you have an easy journey (*mol*, cheap).

The transmission of Bagre

At each of the ceremonies of White Bagre the appropriate section of the myth is recited to the initiates, for it provides both

a mnemonic for and an explanation of the rites that are being performed.

The memorizing of these myths is enjoined upon the new initiates and rewards are offered to those who succeed in this task. Apart from the prestige that accrues to him, a Speaker is given special allocations of food, beer, and money. The neophytes are encouraged, when they become members, to go and watch other Bagre performances, outside their own lineages and settlements, so they may get to know how to recite (W. 5209). Yet it is clear that more systematic methods are needed to learn a work of these dimensions, some 12,000 'lines' in all. Such instructions were in fact given, but essentially on a household basis. Benima told me how he had been the favourite of his grandfather, Napii, who had taught him the Bagre line by line. When the sons of the late chief of Birifu, Gandaa, returned home in the school holidays, the old man would call his younger 'brother' Yinkwo to assemble the boys in the rooftop hut and get them to repeat whole sections, line by line. Then he would test them, one by one, to see what they had learned.

Clearly there are many individual differences in ability and application. In fact very few of the initiates remember anything like the whole myth. Those that do become the future Speakers. In 1951 I travelled a hundred miles south, to a LoBirifor community in western Gonja, and met there, by arrangement, Yinkwo and another elder from Birifu who had been called to revive the performance of the Bagre rites. They stayed many weeks, instructing members, sacrificing fowl, and were certainly well rewarded for their knowledge. Whether they received the horse and 100,000 cowries laid down in the myth I do not know. But their mission was successful in that they used their knowledge of rite and myth to teach another community the ways of Bagre.

The translation of Bagre

There are many ways of doing a translation of this kind. At this point I am primarily interested in LoDagaa thought, in their network of meaning, in what is somewhat vulgarly but fashionably described as their 'code'. In most translations of oral texts one learns as much about the translator as about the translated. My aim is the effacement of the translator, though I cannot hope to attain that goal. To this end I have been through this text with

three LoDagaa, with Benima, who recited it, with Romulo Tado, who helped translate, and with Kumbəəəə Gandaa, who from his unique vantage point considered every word. Although it has taken me a long time to complete, I am simply the mediator. One's first task is to present a faithful text and a literal translation, as a base for the discussion of codes, meanings, and thoughts. For the great difficulty in communicating an understanding of the thought of non-literate peoples is the lack of adequate texts. Everything is mediated by a literate interpreter, the extent of whose contribution is rarely clear. For this reason one can rely upon little of the basic data for the study of *la pensée sauvage* and the reader has to be doubly careful of the analyses based upon them.

In order to minimize my own intervention I have tried to keep as close to the original as possible. This aim brings several difficulties. Firstly the range of meaning of LoDagaa words is obviously different from the approximate equivalents in English. But I have nevertheless tried to give a particular LoDagaa word a constant rendering in English since this enables the reader to follow the flow of the original, even though it may produce a flatter translation than would otherwise be the case. I have also tried to keep the flavour of the formulaic repetitions. Again, what may seem awkward and over-extended in a written form would not seem so orally when the repetitions can be used either to impress a point upon the audience or, more usually, to mark time in the narrative flow and perhaps give the reciter the opportunity to recall and organize the passage that follows.

Another difficulty in the translation arises from the fact that there is some movement between direct and indirect modes of speech during the course of a single passage.¹ And a third is that the pronoun 'he' is often ambiguous; I have sometimes replaced this with a more specific reference in order to assist the reader.

It is interesting that these problems of translation were those that Meillassoux and his collaborators found in presenting the original and the translation of the Soninke legend of the dispersion of the Kusa (1967). I do not claim to have solved them, since

¹ Meillassoux remarks of the Soninke tale he translates that 'le style direct n'existe pas. Lorsque le narrateur fait parler un personnage il lui applique la troisième personne du pluriel *i* sans que les pronoms personnels relatifs aux autres personnages ne lui soient rapportés' (1967: 8). A similar use of the pronouns of the third person plural appears to occur in LoDagaa.

no solution is possible. But I have tried to reproduce the style and content of the original in so far as this is feasible.

The characters in Bagre

The main human characters in the myth are the younger and elder 'brothers' or companions, who were the first men and ancestors of all those now living. It is the adventures of the younger one with which the narrative is mainly concerned, for it is he that visits the beings of the wild, and then God himself. And it is upon the struggle between the three that the myth turns. In the Black Bagre mention is made of the elder brother accompanying him to heaven; this only seems possible if he is to be identified with the spider who spun a web on which the younger brother could climb up to heaven.

When he gets there, the younger brother meets God who gives mankind a hoe (B. 4264) and a child; in this God is helped by his wife, 'the wise old woman', while the younger one is assisted by the 'slender girl'. But it is the beings of the wild (the being, the being's child, and the small being) who teach mankind most of what they know, though it is a snake (a boa) who shows the slender girl how to copulate.

The other humans are 'God's child' or Napolo, who was created in heaven, and Der, who arrived as the result of watching the snakes. In addition the first pair had 'Number Nine' and ten other children. Outside this family stand the two specialists, the diviner and the smith. Apart from the participants in the Bagre, whose roles are dramatized in the myth, and the Earth shrine, who makes one speech, the remaining characters are all animals: the buffalo child who tries to avenge herself on humanity for the death of her mother, the cats and the flies that help to create 'God's child', the Bagre animals that announce the time when the ceremonies should be held and are included among the elders; especially important are the fruit-bat and the guinea fowl. The animals mentioned as elders of Bagre are the following:

- the large fruit-bat, who tells time for the Announcement of Bagre;
- the belibaar bird, whose flight from east to west proclaims the arrival of the dry season, the time for the guinea corn harvest;
- the kyaalipio bird, who tells the time when the girls should get up to fetch water to make the beer;

the large frog, who is not discussed with the others, but is presumably the one that appears in the narrative of the Black Bagre (B. 94);
the damdamwule bird, whose song informs mankind that it is too late to plant guinea corn;
the crown bird, who sings at midnight, so men can tell the time to feed the fasting neophytes;
the featherless cock, who tells the time to get up for farming;
the old guinea cock, who tells men when to perform the Ceremony of Beans.¹

Other animals are mentioned only incidentally; the hawk ('God's creature') who kills the dove that Napolo thought he had himself shot (B. 1890); the antelope hit by the younger one before he deprives the buffalo child of her mother (B. 2311) and who is described as 'the heifer' of the beings of the wild. Other wild animals are mentioned very peripherally in connection with the skins offered by Napolo to the buffalo-girl when he takes her as a bride, namely, roan, duiker, lion, and three kinds of antelope. God himself is surrounded by animals, by dogs (as is the diviner, B. 1226), leopard, lion, elephant, duiker, and hippopotamus (B. 512).

The neophytes themselves set out to hunt wild animals after the Beating of the Malt. Then they are taught which are for Bagre and which for the house (see p. 113. But these Bagre animals are part of the ritual rather than the myth. The main participants are not animals but human and supernatural beings, the younger one (who is representative of mankind), God and the beings of the wild.

¹ In the Black Bagre (B. 3702) 1, 5, 6, 3, and 2 are listed.

THE BAGRE PERFORMANCES

Asperging the Neophytes (Bo puoru)

THE first ceremony of all is 'the Asperging of the Neophytes', when those proposed for membership are introduced to the shrines that will protect them. It is a little-publicized ceremony. The senior members (especially those who act as Speakers), junior members (especially those who act as guides), and the neophytes all gather at the house chosen for the Bagre performances, generally the largest in the lineage, but one which has a shrine to the Bagre deity in the neck of the granary. This ceremony should be started in the dry season, when the dawadawa (*Parkia oliveri*) flowers; this is a tree whose long pods hold a sweet yellow powdery fruit used for culinary purposes. But the performance rarely takes place when it should, mainly because of continuing uncertainty about all the food that is needed. In my own experience the commencement is delayed as long as possible and usually combined with the next ceremony, the Announcement of Bagre which is carried out when the shea fruit, whose nut is essential to make the fat or 'butter' used in the Bagre ritual, is ripe.

In 1951, the first steps in the performance of Bagre were taken on 8 May, when the Naayili elders called the prospective neophytes together and warned them not to eat the shea fruit. Already this was late, for the fruit had ripened and it was feared that some of them might have eaten it. The full performance was further delayed because of the shortage of fowls; so many had been killed off by Newcastle disease that sacrifices were difficult to carry out. Fowls are essential in order to 'asperge the neophytes' (*puora bobil*), for they all have to be taken into the byre, where the ancestor shrines rest. This year, the elder of Kyaa refused to start the Bagre, though strongly pressed by his clansmen. But Naayili decided to begin, even though they could not carry out the full rite at this time because of the fowl shortage (610). When Naayili took this decision, one segment of Kyaa (Dire's 'room') decided

to go ahead on their own, as they had strong grounds for doing so. There is no real reason why any segment cannot start in this way and why other members of the clan sector cannot send neophytes to be initiated by them (755): Bagre, food and all, is shared by the whole clan sector (771). Nevertheless the action taken by Dirɛ was clearly a threat to the authority of the head of the sector who had taken the decision not to begin at this time; in the end he was forced to follow suit.

Naayili in fact carried out the asperging proper on 20 June, on Wa'a (or Birifu) market, the day on which many such performances take place (790).¹ At this time the neophytes were taken to the byre where water and ashes were spurted over them by members of another lineage of the clan, people not directly involved. The ancestral shrines that lean against the wall in a corner of the byre are treated in a similar manner. An elder from a non-participating lineage mixes some of the water with earth (*tene*), here qualified as the Earth shrine's earth (*tengaan tene*), and the mud is put beneath the ears of the neophytes, on their chests and in between their first two fingers and toes. Then they are handed their 'Starting Fowl' (*títítí nuu*) which they will look after until the next ceremony so that it produces chickens to use in the performance. This fowl is treated in a special way, for it has to be cut with a knife between the toes and on the joints of the leg, as well as at the back of the neck. It is as if a pretended sacrifice were being made of an animal that had been marked in the same way as the neophytes, for when it has been dealt with it is thrown aside (*loba*) as if it were being used as an omen, to see which way up it would fall. But the chicken does not in fact have its throat slit and is kept until the Bagre of Beans, when it is given to the Speaker to kill to the Bagre deity; it is the Speaker who now owns both the fowl, known as *Bo nuur*, and the eggs it lays.

At the same time the first prohibitions are placed upon the neophytes. They are forbidden the shea fruit, whose nut will be used to make fat; they are forbidden beans (*biong*) whose leaves will be made into soup at the Bagre of Beans (*Bo biong*), and they

¹ K. G. comments: 'The Birifu Market is Wura Daa, i.e. Wura's Market, though the pronunciation degenerated into Wara Daa and later into Wa'a Daa. Wura Daa used to be a very big market but, as legend relates, blood was shed in a fight and the payment to satisfy the market shrine was not made. The market has since dwindled. In 1940 it was revived by the late chief Gandaa, who provided the necessary sacrifices, but things did not return to their earlier state.'

are forbidden to eat *sense*, the small cakes of bean flour which are fried in every market. They are also forbidden to accept a gourd of beer from which someone has already drunk. All these prohibitions cease at the Bagre of Beans.

The spurting of water from the mouth is clearly a gesture of cooling and blessing, similar to the Asperges of the congregation in the Christian Church. This is made clear by the use of ashes which, as in other rituals, have the power to make hot things cold (Goody 1962: 69). When they have been dealt with in this way, the neophytes are sent home. If a candidate subsequently reports having had bad dreams, he will not be initiated unless a diviner is first approached to find out what is wrong. As in many other ceremonial contexts, the rituals test the candidate concerning his relationships with things supernatural.

On both the occasions at which I was present, the shortage of fowls meant the postponement of some sequences in this ceremony and a merging with the one that followed. I have no way of telling how often this happened but my impression is that the LoDagaa are more concerned with seeing that each phase is carried out rather than attaching it to a particular ceremony. This was certainly so in 1951.

The announcement of Bagre (Bo wuur)

The asperging of the initiates is followed by a ceremony announcing that Bagre is about to be performed. As we have seen, these two ceremonies are sometimes run into one another; it often happens that they are performed later than they rightly should be, since the requirements of grain and fowls are considerable and a lineage does not know until a late stage whether or not it can raise the amounts needed. So the beginnings of the ritual sequence are marked by some procrastination, considerable discussion about the manner and timing, and a certain amount of competitive jockeying for position, since an individual does not wish to admit to his inability to provide for his dependants and at the same time does not want to take on, publicly, more than he can manage.

As so much food and beer is required to perform a Bagre sequence, a great deal of firewood is needed for its preparation. Biri-fu is densely populated by savannah standards and women may have to travel several miles to get the fuel they need. So for any major ceremony of this kind, preparations have to be made well in



4. The Collecting of the Malt (*kei zuur*) before the first of the Bagre ceremonies. On the left sit the members, on the right the neophytes

advance, indeed in the preceding dry season. But though everybody guesses what is going to happen, a formal announcement is none the less made, when the ancestors and shrines are told and when the neophytes are introduced to them. In explaining this my assistant compared this ceremony with that announcing a girl's first pregnancy when everyone is already well aware of her condition.¹

Each ceremony is preceded by the brewing of beer and two days before it begins the malted guinea corn is collected up and measured out (*bε yongna kεε*). On this day all the neophytes dress up in their finery, the girls being draped in various cloths and carrying on their heads the personal 'shrine basket' (*tiib pele*), so carefully decorated with cowrie shells. Dressed up in this fashion, they make their way around all the houses in the neighbourhood, announcing

Come out on the third day,
Ka(i) yi yi datεra,
 come and take the flour.
wa dε z̃̃ bar.

The reference is to the fact that flour is placed on the Bagre shrine (*wen*).

Naayili measured out their malt on 26 June, Wa'a market day, and the brewing started on the morrow; the ceremony itself begins two days later when the beer is ready. The measuring of the grain is a formal affair. In the evening, the elders of the lineage assembled on the rooftop of the Bagre house, together with the senior men of other lineages of the same clan, and a few representatives of the other descent groups in Birifu. The neophytes were mostly young boys (my assistant's son had not yet been weaned) and women up to forty years old. The differences in age indicate the different values placed by men upon male and female lives respectively.

It is the close but non-participating lineages that actually did the measuring though it is more usually another clan who is described as the joking partners of Bagre, since they can do what the participants cannot. The neophytes sit in a line with their piles of corn in front of them (the children of one mother sharing the same pile) and the elders take a basket into which the grain is forced down and then emptied out on the rooftop again.

¹ I would note that when earlier I described this ceremony I understood that it should be performed at all first pregnancies, but the White Bagre suggests that it is confined to initiates.

At this time, the Bagre joking partners address the initiates, giving them their current prohibitions. They must not drink the water collected for the Bagre beer and they must not fight or have sexual congress until the beer has been drunk. They are also told what new crops and fruits are forbidden, and that they must not drink from a gourd which someone else has already touched (*bε bε nyuur kuō tikye kora bε*). For, they are warned, those that break these prohibitions will not be accepted as candidates.

The grain is later returned to the houses from whence it came so that it can be turned into food and drink for the ceremony. But immediately after the measuring the elders entered into a long discussion about the difficulties of obtaining fowl. Eventually they descended to the byre. There the ancestor shrines were first swept with *kō kō* leaves, which are associated with the beings of the wild; sometimes strophantus leaves (*yebe*), used in the making of arrow poison, are taken instead. The elder of the other lineage group then addressed the Earth shrine and the ancestors, who were asked to watch over the brewing of the beer and not to break the vats by their presence; on most major rituals the ancestors are expected to turn up and in the Final Funeral Ceremony they are also spoken of as coming to drink the beer they had enjoyed during their lifetime.

After this introduction to the Earth and the ancestors, the neophytes were brought into the byre in order of age, the younger ones carried by daughters of the house, often reluctantly, for even at an early age these shrines are used as a threat by their elders (798). Sakpi's four-year-old son burst into tears when he was about to go in, but nevertheless he did as he was told.

When these rites were finished, the elders did what often happens on such occasions—made use of their meeting together for other purposes; they went over to the shade of a tree outside the house in order to divine the reason for the death of the late chief's horse, which had died suddenly. Meanwhile a few others walked a mile or so to the Bagre house of the close lineage who had acted as joking partners in order to carry out for them the same ritual services as they had just performed. Before going they also made a sacrifice which is directly relevant to Bagre. A small mound of earth was scraped together on the path leading in the direction from which their forefathers were supposed to have come; this is the *teng kori sɔr*, 'the road to the old country', where sacrifices

are made to the ancestors of those who came first to the settlement. A similar sacrifice is made before other ceremonies, for example, before the Bagre Dance, and it is intended to secure the benevolent participation of the Earth and the ancestors in the rites that are being performed (233).

The ceremony proper took place on the 29th. At about 10 a.m. the elders from the neighbouring clan sectors arrived at the Bagre house to which they had been called. They took the neophytes off to the road leading to the Earth shrine where they built a small pile of earth (*tiungser*) on top of which a stone is placed. An elder of the non-participating lineage that carried out the reeiprocating services offered prayers as he struck it with another stone, and then killed a fowl for every initiate. If any of these are not accepted, then that person's affairs have to be looked at more closely.

After the sacrifice, the senior Speaker present (old Iiru from Baaperi) began to recite the *Bo kaab*, the invocation with which the Black Bagre myth begins. This he did in rhythmic phrases (the 'lines' of my text, which are simply spatial representations of rhythmic periods), constantly punctuated by the striking of a stone on the Earth shrine. He finished and another Speaker started. Each phrase he declaimed was immediately repeated by a third. For the whole piece had to be recited three times, and this device was a way of saving time—the young children were now getting restless as they had fasted the whole of that day.

When the address to the Earth shrine was complete, the neophytes were taken to the other main focus of LoDagaa religious action, the ancestors. They were led into the byre and the invocation was repeated again, with the Speaker beating the wooden shrines of the ancestors instead of the altar to the Earth. The other main difference was that the person addressing the ancestors (Pinpuo) was from another lineage of the same clan, not an outsider. In terms of congregation, the Earth is universal, the ancestors particularistic.

Finally the initiates were called back again into the room one by one. The 'owner of Bagre' sat on the left of the ancestor shrines holding in the palm of his hand some shea butter, which he had taken out of a small pot. This oil he uses to create a relationship of custodianship between the ancestors and the neophytes, a relationship known as *siura* (or *siwee*; LD. *sigra*) in the myth.

The shea butter (*kã*) for this ceremony is made by the women in

a long and complicated process that takes many days. The other main necessities for the ceremonies are also made by women, as the text records:

She takes the shea nut that turns to oil,
o de kyuon ka lieb kã
 she takes the malt that turns to beer,
o de kei ka lieb dãã
 she takes the corn that turns to food.
o de kyì ka lieb saab

Although not quite so time-taking, the technological processes are as complex, more so perhaps, than those of the men—except that of smithying. As Childe noted of the ‘neolithic revolution’, many of the more complex discoveries and inventions of barbarian science were associated with the work of women rather than of men (1942: 56).

When the oil has been prepared, the husband will tell his wife not to let the children get hold of any before the ceremony. ‘Don’t let my neophytes do wrong (*song*).’ For the proper time approaches (*zie tolana*), and ‘the fire should’nt blaze up,’ as the text repeatedly declares (e.g. W. 643).

In the recitation these two roles of the women are frequently stressed. The ‘wise old woman’ is acquainted with all the technological processes and understands the secrets of childbirth; she it is, as the wife of God, of ‘Adam’ (the first man, the elder one), and of the present performer (‘the mother of Bagre’), who instructs the young girls (‘the slender girls’ of the myth) in their basic tasks. But she is also responsible for seeing that the neophytes don’t run into danger (‘spoil’) by taking foods that are at present tabooed.

The shea butter that is manufactured in this way is used for the special purpose of *siura*, the creation of a relationship of spiritual guardianship, discussed earlier. The neophyte takes the oil in his left hand, flicks it three times towards the ancestral shrines and puts the remainder in his mouth. The initiates are ritually fed (*tona*) with the oil, in one of the gestures of pretence (*tun*) that so often mark the communications between man and god (Goody 1962: 60).¹ A special relationship is thus brought into being and then sealed by the sacrifice of a chicken for every neophyte.

¹ K. G. comments: ‘In Birifu the verb *tũĩna* is used for the criss-cross marking on the face. The senior members (*bɔɔ kɔɔra*) will say: “*Yɛ tũĩ bɔɔ a kãã*”, or ask

In 1952 the Naayili clan had thirty-eight novices and on this occasion their fowls were brought out in front of the byre and divided into six piles, one for each of the five constituent lineages (only one of which was carrying out this ceremony, namely, the lineage of Wuurader), and one for the patriclan sector of Kyaa, with whom Naayili customarily shares (*puon*) and who were themselves performing Bagre the same year.

When they withdrew from the presence of the ancestral shrines the neophytes were first taken up to the roof and then down into the Bagre room (for there is no direct access to the interior of a LoDagaa house) where they were later given a meal of porridge (*saab*), ground-nut soup (*bule zier*), and beer (*dãã*). The first food is given to the second-graders (the *bɔɔbere*, or senior members) who also receive the top of each pot of beer, the *ne dãã* or 'beer of the mouth'. The 'middle beer' (*dãã sɔɔr*) is given to the neophytes and the 'dregs' (*dãã per*), the name given to the bulk of the pot, is taken to the rooftop to be divided out, together with soup and porridge, among the five clans in the ritual area.¹ The host clan, Naayili, kept its share on the rooftop and divided it among the constituent lineages. The other clans took their portions and each sat together under different shade trees that stood in front of the compound.

Even married women consume the food with their natal patrilineal clans. Only a few very senior women were called over to eat with the question *Ye tũĩ na a bɔɔ baari?* In the second stage of whitewashing, the guides are told: *Ze a bɔɔ a kãã*, or asked: *Ye zena a bɔɔ a kãã baari?* Here *kãã* is used figuratively for whitewash.

'Another action, which is akin to the presentation of the child before the ancestral shrines, is *tɔ*; in Bagre this is done when the fast of the neophytes is broken, before they can eat or drink for the day: *Ye tɔna a bɔɔ baari*.

'This action involves the cutting of a small piece of food by the guide and raising it in front of the neophyte's face, 3 times for men, 4 times for women, and then throwing it away to the gods. He follows this by passing another bit of food under his arms and again throwing it away to the gods. This ceremony precedes the eating and drinking of the Bagre food and drink.

'The same action is done to a child (*fu tɔna a fu bie zie*) but with shea butter and medicines. It is carried out first thing in the morning before he or she takes anything solid.'

¹ Like all the food distributed on these occasions, the beer is subject to snatching (*aro*) by sister's sons (*arbile*) and by their children. I was invited to drink a pot that had been snatched in this way (by an educated member of the chief's house, a fact which was probably instrumental in the success of this gesture). He was a senior member (*bo sɔɔla, gan sob*) and there was some discussion as to whether this category was entitled to drink the beer intended for first-graders, though there was no doubt that non-initiates like myself could do so.

the clansmen of their husband (not with the married sisters of the clan). This was the one occasion among the LoWiili that I saw men and women eat together from the same bowl (though it occurs in certain LoDagaba settlements), and it happens only when the husband's kin are certain that the woman will stay in the house and when she has finished childbearing. Of such a woman they will say '*o in daba*', 'he/she is a man', and '*o in a* (or *lieba*) *yirsob*', 'he/she is (or has become) a member (or owner) of the house'.

When the food had been divided by patrilineal clans, the elders returned to the Bagre room where the food was laid out in two lines for the initiates, who demonstrate to the neophytes how they eat all together at one time (like 'hawks', the myth says).

At the time of the Announcement of Bagre, communication is established with the 'god who descends'. The initiates and neophytes go to the roof of the house where the Bagre is being performed. There they pretend to throw something with their left hand, an action described as *be yuana* or *be tuura*, the latter meaning literally 'they follow'; in this context these words are used for communication with *tiib* (shrines) and with supernatural agencies generally. The actions carried out here, and later on Bagre Day, are clearly those referred to in the passages of the myth that speak of the descent of the god (e.g. W. 104):

it was the deity
that has come
from the front,
that is pointing
with the right hand,
that has come
to stay here

The following day the same procedures were repeated once again. On the path outside the house, the Bagre was recited at a mound but on this occasion no chickens were killed. Nor were any killed in the byre. The meal consisted not of ground-nut soup (*bule zier*) but of soup made from bean leaves which was now permitted to the neophytes. For they were now released from some of the earlier prohibitions placed upon them, on cakes made from bean flour, on shea fruit, and upon sharing a calabash of beer.

This ceremony of *Bo wuur* is also known as *Bo Biong* (920), the

Bagre of Beans, the Beans in question being the black beans. The neophytes are now allowed to go their own ways until the series of ceremonies that take place after the major crops have been harvested. The first of these also has to do with beans, this time the white beans, being known as *Ben puuru dāā*, the Beer of the Flowering of the Cow Peas, or alternatively as *Ka puuru dāā*, the Beer of the Flowering of the Guinea Corn (920). Both the guinea corn and the cow peas flower at the same time. This is also the season when the first yams (*kpir nyie*) can be dug, the remainder being left to grow.

The ceremony that I have described took place at Naayili. Six days later, on 5 July, a similar ritual was performed in Kyaa, which has the same Bagre medicine, that is to say, it was obtained from the same source. Nevertheless there are certain differences between the two performances. The principal one of these has to do with the food eaten on the first day. In earlier times, it is said, a bachelor did not have any porridge at Bagre since he had no wife to cook it; for the grain that is measured out is taken back to the neophyte's own house to be turned into food and beer. But they took pity on these bachelors and it was decided that no one should eat porridge on the first day but only drink flour mixed with water (*zō kuō*), the mixture that is often offered to strangers when they arrive at a house from distant parts. After that the flour is taken home and brought back the next day as porridge. Although Bagre explicitly extends kinship ties outside the kinship context (as, for example, in the division of meat, W. 3343), the dependence of its ceremonies on the individual hearths of its members is stressed throughout the proceedings. There is a constant interaction between the public collection and consumption of food and its private production and preparation.

At the Asperging Ceremony, Kyaa had been unable to kill the necessary fowls to the ancestor shrines. This sacrifice was therefore transferred to the present occasion and they began the morning by killing some fifty-five chickens on behalf of their thirty-one neophytes.

At the same time the elders discussed various cases where Bagre prohibitions were said to have been broken. Two of Kobaa's sons had been heard quarrelling, but the complaint was dismissed when they explained it was only an argument over some food in a gourd. But another lad was judged to have been in a fight and his father

was fined 600 cowries and two fowl, which were to be sacrificed to the Bagre deity.

When Kyaa made their sacrifice to the Earth they killed a fowl for each initiate and also offered some flour, some shea oil, and a small pot of beer. Afterwards, in the byre, the recital was again carried out and more chickens were killed. The neophytes were then allocated their own beer to drink and led into the byre where the Starting Fowl (*tiitii nuo*) was treated in the manner described for the previous ceremony, since Kyaa had started that phase without sufficient chickens. At the same time the ancestors were called upon to keep the neophytes from getting ill and to guard them till all is over (*o ta v̄ē ka bobil wa in baale; o na tuur a le na na ka ba ti yi*).

The main meal was now laid out and the neophytes went into the Bagre room where they were told the story of the bachelor, before being given the flour water to eat, and more beer to drink. At the end of the row in which the food was laid out, a special pot (*do tangale*) was reserved for the owners of Bagre medicine, the second-graders. All this beer, described as *dāā bhaani*,¹ is kept for ritual purposes, as is made clearer in the rites of the following day.

The neophytes are now ritually fed (*tona*), to break their fast. This is done with flour, which they put on the backs of their hands. They take some in their mouths, then spit it out, first to one side, then to the other and let what remains fall on the floor of the room. As with all rituals of pretence, these acts are carried out three times for a man and four for a woman.

On the second day, 6 July, Kyaa carried out the same prayers (*kaab*) as before, addressing Earth and ancestors. Then a meal was prepared of porridge made from the flour (*z̄ñ nyaaru* or *z̄ñ haama*) of the day before. This is consecrated food (*saab bhaani*) which is consumed by the neophytes in the room and by the patriclan on the rooftop, and is otherwise given only to those with whom they share, namely Naayili (who, it will be remembered, had given them food of a similar kind) and Yongyuole, each of whom received three gourds.

The fowls which had been killed and divided on the previous day were now given out as cooked food in the same way. A second quantity of soup and porridge was referred to as the 'food for dividing' (*saab puon*). Each patriclan, including those who had

¹ Or *dāā mani*, designated beer.

shared the consecrated food, was given four calabashes of porridge, four bowls of soup, and four small pots of beer, together with some chicken.¹ Thirdly, there was the 'food for women' (*pobo saab*); a calabash of porridge and a proportion of the rest of the food (including one fowl) is given to the paternal lineage (*pɔɔ sãã yidem*) of every woman who is being put through Bagre as a wife.

Finally food and beer were put aside for special categories of people present, the strangers and the Speakers (who received two small pots). Meanwhile sister's sons playfully insisted upon their rights to snatch, either from the clan carrying out the Bagre, or from those who had been given a share.² In this way a network of particular and generalized exchanges among clans and individuals is established as an intrinsic part of the ceremony of, the one in which the majority of those who attend are most involved.

That and, for the young, the dancing. After the members are replete with food, the xylophones begin to play and all present, both men and women, join in the Bagre dance, which always has an element of courting in it. A fine dancer attracts much praise, and a man who puts on a vigorous show may find one or more girl admirers joining in just behind him, close relations as well as potential wives or mistresses.

Even when the xylophones are not playing, the girls will gather round in a circle at the side and dance and sing to the clapping of hands (*nuri ngmeb* and *kaaro*). They do this largely for their own amusement, but one elder told me that they also do it to attract the attention not only of local men but also of any traders (*bõ yero*) who may be in the neighbourhood or have lost their way in the bush, so that they will bring the salt needed to make the Bagre food. It is important, as at funerals, to maintain the tempo of the ceremonies as long as they last and this is helped by the continuous playing of the xylophone and clapping of hands.

Salt and cloth were probably the only two 'necessities' the LoDagaa obtained from outside the region. They knew how to

¹ At least Naayili, Yongyuole, Kyaa, and Ngmanbili divided in this way. Baaperi (of whom only two members were present) got a half-share and Puriyele (only one present) a quarter.

² K. G. comments: 'The word used to describe the right of a sister's child to get a pot of beer, fowl, etc. during such performances is *aro*. This is a hunting term. If someone shot an antelope and another does so later, the first is presumed to be the killer and the second (if he is from a different patriclan) is entitled to the foreleg (*o lo ara a bɔɔ*). If it is a dog that helps in the killing, then the foreleg belongs to his owner.'

make a salt from the ash of certain grasses, but it did not have the flavour of the salt purchased from traders. Imported salt came from two main sources. A small quantity was washed from the sands of the Black Volta at the Gonja town of Daboya and found its way to the Wa market. The town of Wa, forty-five miles to the south, was the major focus of large-scale economic activity for the LoDagaa, and most of the traders who passed by were on their way to or from that town. The main traders in salt came from the north bringing the rock salt from the Saharan mines and these were mainly Mossi traders belonging to the Yarsi group, who were of Dyula origin and travelled widely throughout the Voltaic area. Indeed the LoDagaa word for trader (*yero*), the Mossi word for Dyula (*Yarsi*), and the word for Mossi in a number of languages in the region all have the common root of 'trade'.

Traders gathered at the near-by settlements of Kwõnyũkwõ and Babile, where a few of their tribesmen were found even in pre-colonial times. The pedlars among them attended any local gathering like Bagre to sell their wares, which included 'Mossi cloth' (the LoDagaa have none of their own). But their task was always a dangerous one, as the early administrative records make clear. Acephalous peoples like the LoDagaa and the Tallensi might attack individuals or caravans going through their settlements, largely for booty but sometimes (in the LoDagaa case) for an offering to the spirit guardian (*siura*). And an additional reason for the ambivalent attitude towards the traders, whose goods they wanted but whose presence they did not, was the fact that they were identified with the centralized states who either raided them directly or else traded in the products of such raids. Indeed trading and slaving were hardly to be separated.

The preliminaries are now complete. The main series of ceremonies begins with the next, the Ceremony of Beans, which is normally carried out about the time of the main harvest, early in December.

The Ceremony of Beans (Bo biong)

In 1950, the year before the ceremonies I have just described, the Bagre was performed by two lineages in Birifu, by Ngmanbil-Maale (whom I shall call Maale) and by Baaperi. The first of these carried out the Ceremony of Beans on 1 December, which was Nakwol market day, the Day of No-Hoeing, a day associated

with the Earth. It took place at the house of the 'mother of Bagre', a man called Zuko, where representatives of all the other clan sectors in Birifu proper were gathered together, that is, Kyaa, Baaperi, Naayili, and Yongyuole. The first part of the ceremony was taken up with a sacrifice made necessary because of certain acts that had been committed at the previous Bagre performance. Since this is the first major ceremony of the ritual complex, it is also the occasion when outstanding matters have to be settled. Indeed Bagre had not been held in Birifu for the last three years because the following debt remained unpaid.

Three years before, the late chief of Birifu had detected some bad medicine (*tĩ faa*) in a pot of beer which had been sent him to drink. He swore by the Bagre deity, by the ancestors, and by a medicine shrine called *maalseb* in order to try to discover who had wanted to do him wrong. On the very day that the neophytes were washed, a certain woman died, the wife of a friend from another lineage. Divination confirmed that she had tried to kill the chief and at her funeral all her gourds, pots, and clothes were destroyed in front of the medicine shrine. Her sons had then to provide four cows to be slaughtered there. All this wealth had taken three years to accumulate. Now sacrifices had to be made to the Bagre shrine and her sons had to produce a further payment of a cow, sheep, goat, and six chickens for sacrifice to the Bagre deity (*Bo wen*) at the altar placed in the neck of the main granary that projects through the flat roof of every house.

A preliminary discussion about the action to be taken was held at the foot of a nearby boabab, the shade tree for the compound. The head of the house made a little pile of earth, placed a small stone on top, then tapped it with another pebble. This was at Zuko's house, but in fact most of the main ceremonies were held at the neighbouring compound of Depep, the government headman from the same lineage, since his provided more room for the neophytes, for the initiates, and for their numerous guests.

Bonyir, who had been 'hired' as Speaker from the neighbouring clan sector of Kyaa, addressed the shrine in short, staccato phrases, after each of which Zuko gave two taps with the stone. When he had finished speaking, Zuko grabbed a small chicken, held its head back with the thumb of one hand, and with the other took a knife and slit its throat. A few of the tail-feathers had been plucked and placed on top of the stone, an offering to the shrine,

and over this the blood of the chicken was allowed to drip before the bird was cast aside to see which way up it died. Such a procedure is always carried out before any larger animal is killed, in order to find out whether the supernatural agency will accept the offering; for of all the animals killed in sacrifice, only the fowl is used both for downward as well as upward communication. Both chickens were killed in this way and both expired on their backs, favourably. Bonyir laughed out loud, partly from relief and satisfaction, for the major sacrifice could now proceed.

First of all a small goat had its throat cut and was left lying on the ground. The elders moved off to the byre to make a sacrifice to the ancestors, those to whom the chief had made an oath. Two more chickens were killed and then a sheep. When they came out the elders declared that these offerings were not sufficient and a boy was sent back to fetch another goat from Red Hill (Tanziiri), which was the clan sector of the dead woman's husband. Two more chickens were killed, one falling favourably, the other not, but the sacrifice of the goat continued.

All these sacrifices were part of the 'greeting' (*puuru*). When they had been completed, the main offering could be made and the assembled company went to the Bagre shrine in the large granary. This particular shrine consisted of a small mud projection built on to the granary, flat on top, about six inches high and eighteen inches square. On the side away from the granary was a shallow hole, on the right of which were two crystalline stones stuck in the dried mud.

The participants sat in a semi-circle and Zuko tapped the shrine with a short stick, as Bonyir addressed the deity. Four chickens were killed before the cow itself was slaughtered outside the house (for it was too big to drag up to the rooftop).

This sacrifice was a preliminary to the ceremony itself. As at the other performances the neophytes bring a fowl to kill to the Bagre deity. In addition they spend a good deal of time in the long room of the house listening to the White Bagre, which is recited up to the point in the ceremony that they have reached; this is their 'instruction'.

At the opening ritual various taboos were laid upon the neophytes, against quarrelling and against sex during the course of the performances themselves (e.g. W. 1972). Such taboos are widespread in such ceremonies for fighting and sex are often seen as

disruptive and polluting elements in this kind of context. Asceticism is demanded of the neophytes; sex pollutes all those who take part even in ordinary times; it is especially polluting when an individual has been whitewashed, for then he is in a similar state to a widow, whose whiteness not only symbolizes social separation and sexual abstention, but is a test of whether or not she has kept her word.

At the same time the initiates are taught certain food taboos that apply throughout. The prohibitions on food are the most evident of all, though those on sex are the most severe. As far as food is concerned, almost none of the major crops can be eaten until the neophytes have been formally released from the prohibition. Yams (*dioscorea*) are prohibited until shortly after the Bagre of Beans, when 'they shake the yams' (*bɛ miro nyii*); the elders speak in the room and then give the neophytes yams to eat (W. 400). Beans are treated in a similar way, being freed at *Ben puru*, though as with yams there is rarely any separate ceremony involved; the release is effected at one of the other performances. But both are mentioned in the text of the White Bagre itself (the yams at line 364, the beans at line 667), the release from beans being referred to as the Ceremony of the Bean Flower and connected with the story of the guinea fowl quarrelling with his mate. At the Ceremony of the Beans, the prohibition on soup made from bean leaves is lifted (W. 221). At the Whitening Ceremony, the neophytes are given ground-nut and vegetable soup (*bule*), which otherwise is not eaten until after they have been initiated; apart from this they eat only *yɔɔvaar* soup made from pumpkin leaves.

These food taboos function at a variety of levels. At the beginning of the ceremony, a blanket taboo on new crops exists and these prohibitions are progressively raised as the crops in question ripen and the neophytes run into the danger of eating the forbidden fruit. In the myth it is the bean leaves that first come ripe (W. 221), then yams (W. 364), then the shea fruit (W. 784); a fruitbat struggling with its mate lets a shea nut fall to the ground for man to pick up; in this way we know the time has come for the beginning of the opening ceremony of the year, the Announcement of Bagre (W. 758), a ceremony which should occur earlier in the ritual sequence. What is important here is that the taboos on food are lifted only with the aid of the Bagre society, by means of a communal ceremony which saves the neophytes from the fire that is

approaching them (W. 1869), though it is also true that it is the association that imposes the taboos and conjures up the fire. The crops affected are some of the major food crops and it is clear in the myth that the Bagre deity assists in the production of the crops required in the performance of the rituals, as of course do other agencies. The interdependence of rites and crops is made manifest throughout. So too is the dependence of the neophyte upon his fellows, for large quantities of grain are collected from kith and kin (and especially from parents) for the performance of the rites which 'help', indeed 'save', the new members.

But even as diacritical features of the passage of ceremonies in the ritual complex, the punctuation marks of religious time, the food taboos have a special force. Since so much of Bagre is concerned with eating and drinking together, the lifting of food taboos is a public act in which all members engage. The junior grade of initiates are often laughed at in the myth because of their love of eating. It is the White initiates that are constantly referred to as 'hawks' or as 'the greedy ones' and it is food they are always said to think of when they are called to the Bagre house. It is the seniors, the Black initiates, who have to remind them that Bagre is not just for fun but has to do with serious problems that affect mankind in general and this community in particular (W. 1252). And it is they too who have to insist on first being offered the Bagre food and drink; the top of the beer belongs to them (W. 1225) and the way that this is offered and received is an essential part of the Bagre ritual (W. 445). Thus while the seniors are reserved, the juniors are encouraged to eat (there are special Bagre ways of all eating together); it is the neophytes who have not only to reject food, but have also to contribute food and drink for the rest to enjoy, as a condition of their entry into the society.

The commensalism, the inter-dining, and the fasting all help to validate the ceremonial sequence, since these are public declarations of commitment as well as acts of considerable psycho-physiological significance. The Bagre of Beans is the first ceremony to emphasize this aspect of the ritual sequence, though it plays a much larger part in the main ceremonies where the neophytes are inducted into the society by being separated from the community even to the extent of being 'killed'. But before these rites can take place, the proper medicine has to be prepared; this is the task assigned to the next ceremony.

The Beer of the Bagre Medicine (Bo tĩ dǎã)

Whenever new initiates are brought into the society through the White Bagre, beer is also brewed for the members themselves at a ceremony known as The Beer of the Bagre Medicine (*Bo tĩ dǎã*). At this ritual first-graders (White initiates) or second-graders (Black initiates) are given the Bagre medicine (*kyĩli tĩ*), which they have to have in order that their children may become members.

The performance takes place shortly after the Bagre of Beans and before the Whitening Ceremony. In 1950 Baaperi held it the week (six days) before.¹ Beer was brewed, the xylophones brought out, and fowls killed to the Earth shrine (that is *sɔr puo*, on the road leading to the shrine), to the ancestors, and to the long-necked gourd in which the medicine is kept (*kyĩli*): the medicine gourd is kept in a skin bag that hangs from the rafters of the byre. In these sacrifices the lineage is assisted by the usual group that carry out reciprocal services on such occasions and this in turn is rewarded with portions of the fowls that have been killed.

At this ceremony the senior members prepare the medicine (*bɛ ma vuulena a tĩ*) that will be used to kill and revive the neophytes in the room at the Bagre Dance.² The neophytes are not themselves present and the performance is essentially a private one. But it is an essential precursor of the dry season ceremonies where the aspirants are first separated from the community by being whitewashed like widows (the Whitening Ceremony) and then killed and revived during the course of the Bagre Dance; indeed the medicine is essential both in the death and rebirth of the novices.

The Whitening Ceremony (Bo pir or Bo byor)

The Whitening Ceremony takes place when the guinea corn is cut. Then the neophytes have their arms and head painted, though not to the same extent as those shown in Labouret's pictures of similar ceremonies among the LoBirifor of the Ivory Coast (1931: Plate 31), where they appear like living skeletons.

In 1950 this ceremony occurred early in December, that is, just after the guinea corn had been harvested. For the LoDagaa sorghum is the major crop and for this ceremony the new corn is

¹ Maale did not hold such a ceremony this year as they had done it last year (A 1).

² The verb *vuuli* means singe, as in the process of singeing the feathers off a chicken.

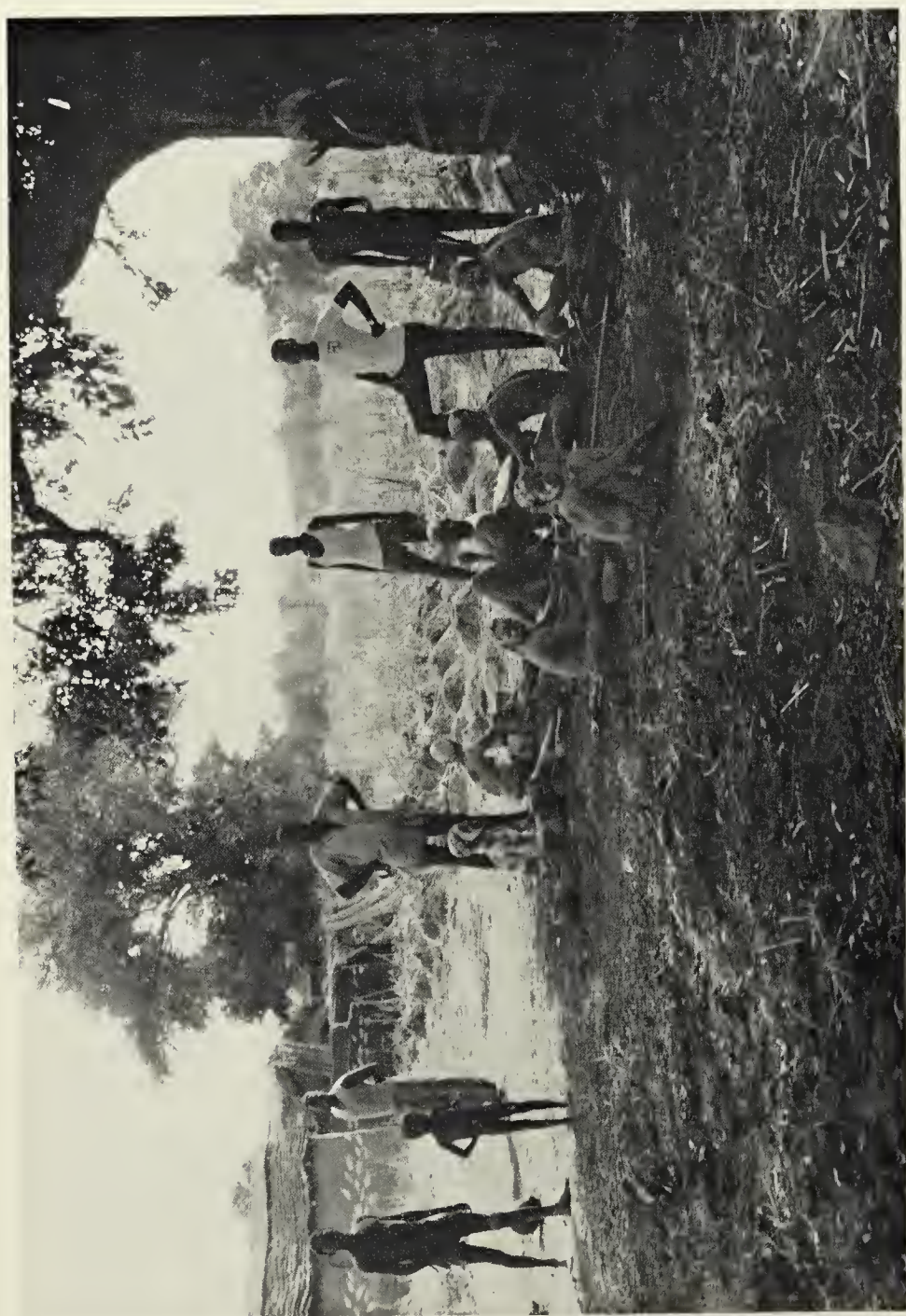
made into beer and porridge (*ka zic saab*, red sorghum porridge). The neophytes are prohibited from drinking beer made from the new grain until the Whitening Ceremony formally releases them. On this day they all drink the Beer of the Mouth (*ne dāā*), so called because they are now silenced. But no member may drink it if he has already touched ordinary beer that day, nor may he drink it before the fowls have been sacrificed to the Bagre deity.

At the Whitening Ceremony the neophytes are taken out of circulation until the Bagre Dance that follows some weeks later. They no longer sleep in their own houses but in the compounds of Bagre elders. They are painted in thick white stripes, on their faces as well as their bodies, which not only cuts them off from the rest of humanity, like a widow at a funeral, but also places severe restrictions on their behaviour. Right from the beginning they are forbidden to fight between themselves and to sleep with their wives, or indeed with any woman. Now they can no longer use their 'lying mouths' for speaking but only for eating (W. 1950). At the same time, they draw a line in whitewash from the nose to the back of the head, that is, *be tuɲ fu*. The invocation to the Black Bagre addresses the 'god with the mark between the eyes' (*ngmin nyɲtuɲ*); in the key at the end, this 'god' is revealed as the younger one of the two original men (B. 5252). Meanwhile, the elder brother is referred to as 'the striped god' (*ngmin sɔr goba*); these are the white stripes painted on the black body. The third of these mentioned in the Black Bagre is *ngmin par pla*, 'the god with the white arse', which is later revealed as the male fly and its mate who play a part in the creation of mankind, that is, in the birth of Napolo, 'God's child'. The reference is to the whitewash painted on the neophyte's arse with the words, 'That is your sitting arse' (*a par zinano ni anga*), although they are not allowed to sit in a room but only outside (*tieper*, literally at the foot of the tree, 3158) until the following ceremony. It also refers to the dust they gather through sitting on the ground. Unless the neophytes observe all these taboos, the healing virtues of the whitewash will be ineffective—and if their sins are found out, they will be punished by the elders as well as by the Bagre deity.

From now until the Dance the initiates are highly visible, painted in whitewash and going round compounds begging for grain and seizing fowls. During this whole time they are jeered at and abused by all and sundry.



5. The neophytes after the Whitening Ceremony, carrying their gourds. The photograph is taken from Labouret's account (1931) of the LoBirifor version from Upper Volta; in Birifu the painting is less pronounced



6. The Bagre guides watch over the whitewashed neophytes during their period of separation (1970)

In 1950 the Whitening Ceremony began at Baaperi on 7 December, that is on Nakwol market day. The Maale headman, who was conducting a parallel series of rites, was prevailed upon to postpone his own performance till the following day so that people could attend both. This market day is the one set aside for the Earth shrine and all hoeing is forbidden; consequently it is a day often used for ritual performances. Shortly before, I had encountered the neophytes walking round from house to house, telling everybody that the performance was due to begin in two days' time, an announcement that is constantly mentioned in the recital of the White Bagre. On these occasions visits are sometimes paid to settlements as far afield as ten miles away to let them know of the approaching ceremony.

In the morning the neophytes assembled, with the guides carrying the baskets on their behalf. They are taken into the room for instruction, where the White Bagre is recited up to the point in the ceremonies that they have reached. The neophytes later go up to the rooftop to eat and then return to the room.

Meanwhile, a large crowd gathered at the house where Bagre is being performed, mainly to drink, dance, and converse. When I arrived at about 7 p.m. the xylophones were being played with great vigour by the two best players in town. These were the smaller xylophones (*Lo gyil prumo*)—though still some four feet in length—which are used for the Bagre performance and are sometimes known as the *Bo gyil*. When any senior man arrived he was presented with a pot of beer by the one in charge; other men soon gathered round to drink and talk, while the younger ones joined in the Bagre dances (*Bo bine*) which are best enjoyed when the moon is bright.

The neophytes and their guides stayed in the room until 11 p.m. when the headman fired off two or three shots from his gun. They came out and climbed up to the roof; the dancing stopped as the spectators made their way home. Apparently the long stay in the room was because some trouble had been unearthed. The neophytes have to be in a state of ritual purity before they are white-washed; that is to say, if they have broken any of the Bagre taboos they should confess their fault beforehand, otherwise they may undergo dire hardships. On this occasion one neophyte was suspected of sinning because his wife had run away.

When I reached the Maale Bagre at 4 p.m. on the following day

the initiates and their helpers were making the head-bands (*zumuur*; LD. *zumiir*) that they wear after being whitewashed.¹ These head-bands are made from fibre (*byuur*) and chicken feathers (from the sacrifice) which are rolled together on the thigh. They are used in two other circumstances; the bands are tied round a widow's head for the duration of the funeral ceremonies and they are also used to cure headaches; both mourning and medicinal functions are relevant here. As people remarked on more than one occasion, 'Funeral and Bagre are the same' (A 1; 929); it is not that the neophyte is buried like a corpse, but rather that he is tested (and cured) like the survivors. The fibres are bound round the head of the neophyte before the whitewashing takes place; it is another test (W. 1916).

During the making of these bands the novices are supervised by a guide, for they can neither eat nor drink until food is specially prepared for them in the evening. When the sun sets, the food is brought out to them, together with a small pot (*dul prumo*), used only on these occasions and containing about a quart of beer. The neophytes consumed their beer and millet porridge on the roof and then returned to the room. Meanwhile the xylophones were playing *bine* (the Bagre dance) outside; people were dancing to the music but only sporadically, since there was not much beer available to encourage their steps and quench their thirst.

At Maale the neophytes stayed even longer in the room than they had done at Baaperi the previous night. The xylophones played *bine* continuously while, on the rooftop and in the courtyards, fires were lit to keep out the cold; Bagre members finished up the food the neophytes did not want. Shortly before dawn gunshots announced the emergence of the neophytes, who climbed wearily to the rooftops and lay down to sleep.

Once again the delay had been caused by a neophyte who had done wrong. It was discovered that he had slept with his wife the very night they started to brew the beer for the present ceremony. He was told off and made to wear a special head-band made from *siong myuur*, the kind of reed used for weaving sleeping-mats, which made him a figure of ridicule wherever he went. At the same time one elder reported seeing two neophytes having a fight and it was agreed they should be fined both in cash and

¹ Only in this clan section are these bands put on upstairs; in others it is done in the room.

in kind (that is, in chickens), the fines going to the Bagre Speakers.

It is at this time that the neophytes receive their Bagre accoutrements. Firstly there is the skin bag (*bo wuo*) in which they will keep their gear.¹ Then there is the small round gourd (*bo kuor*); one I saw had a little handle (*ya*) but usually they are quite round. To this is tied an iron bell and some chicken feathers from the sacrifice. The noise of a bell is always a means of communicating with supernatural agencies, usually the beings of the wild. In the centralized societies of the regions, a chief is often preceded by a man beating a double bell-shaped gong to announce his presence (or sometimes to deliver his orders, like a town-crier). But here the ringing of bells is a form of prayer, used by many diviners. On Bagre Eve the bells are shaken violently in an attempt to establish contact with the Bagre deity. The bells they acquire are tied inside the lid of the gourd and this has to be carried around by the neophytes until they are released at Bagre Dance. During this period the gourd, likened to a large hen's egg, has to be carried round with utmost care for

if it breaks
your head will split (W. 2022).

It is broken, formally, when the neophytes have successfully emerged from the ritual sequence.

After the meal, the neophytes are closely questioned and then stripped, bathed, and whitewashed. From then on they can no longer speak; if they do so, they receive a cuff on the head. Nor can they dance until the whole sequence is finished. If they touch anybody else's possessions (other than the clothes one is wearing), these will no longer be usable and at the final ceremony such possessions should be burnt and any animal killed. It is especially non-initiates who are in danger from the neophytes; if such a person touches the head of a new entrant, he will die. In Lawra, the neophyte can touch nothing belonging to a non-initiate and if he has something to give another person, he will put it on the ground and walk away.

After the Whitening Ceremony, the initiates have to go round to every house and beg for grain, as well as for money. They take

¹ This is the ordinary skin bag men carry over their shoulder, except that it cannot be made of goat.

with them an old basket (W. 2101), which is normally carried by a female guide (a substitute one) who accompanies them; they also carry a guinea corn stalk as a stave, a stick otherwise used only by widowers when they are whitewashed during the funeral ceremonies for their wives.

The instructions for collecting go into minute detail of how the neophytes must perform the normal human acts of drinking and excreting (sex is forbidden) away from the guides, since the sexual intercourse that senior members have had may compromise the position of their charges.

At this time the restrictions placed upon the neophytes are many; the previous prohibitions on fighting and sex are again enforced. The additional taboos were summarized to me as follows:

1. You don't speak with anyone (i.e. strangers) (*fu be yel yeli ni nire*).
2. You don't walk on the main paths (*fu be dere sore*).¹
3. You don't meet anyone (*fu be turi nire*)—i.e. you always turn aside (*pila*).
4. If they cook porridge, they always turn it over into a calabash (so that you eat the bottom first) (*bel wa mon saab, ba ma lieb a saab vol a ngmaan puo*).
5. A cow must not touch you (*naab be tuwr fue*).
6. A dog must not touch you (*baa be tuwr fue*).
7. When they give you a guinea corn stalk (*kaker*), do not hit anything with it: otherwise that thing will spoil.
8. Do not put your gourd within reach of a child.
9. Do not sit in a room (*fu be zine diumi*).
10. No one who gives you food must have had sexual intercourse (*nir be gan a ire deor ti ire bunderi kofu*) (3157).

Having learnt what to do, the neophytes start off in a group, but each takes a different path. When one arrives at a house, he stands twenty yards away offering a mute and distant appeal (which can also be seen as a threat), while the guide goes forward with the basket to collect whatever grain is forthcoming. Only one neophyte from each house, or rather from each 'Bagre mother', makes such

¹ K. G. comments that this rule avoids coming into contact with persons who have had sexual intercourse the night before; it is also thought that ghosts (*nyāākpime*) take the main paths on their journeys between the living and the dead.

a visit to a compound, and he expects to collect from every man who has his own granary (that is, who farms cereals on his own behalf). They continue to collect until the Beating of the Malt (*Kengmir*), after which they get chickens in a similar way.

The stick is carried not only as a support but also to ward off the dogs who are accustomed to snap at strangers approaching their domain. If they have to strike the dog, I was told, it may die when the guinea corn is next cut.

The neophytes are given millet or guinea corn, and some of this is used for their own food; they eat three times a day, in the morning, noon, and evening. Since they cannot buy beer, they have to have it brought to them. I was at a house one day where two sons and a daughter were being put through Bagre; one of the sons was a schoolboy and his sister was the wife of a teacher. All three were sitting disconsolately on the roof of the compound, keeping away from all other houses, their eyes downcast, their demeanour humble. All were covered in white stripes, the girl with white rings round her nipples, and about her waist a thick cluster of leather bands (*gamie*). I was in the company of her brother-in-law and as we approached he started singing an abusive song:

Neophyte, come get your corn.

bɔɔ, bɔɔ, wa de kyɪ-ee

Fatty, fatty, come get your corn.

vara, vara, wa de kyɪ-ee

It's the children's hot food you take and eat,

bibiir sa tulu ka fu ire dire

So you've got enough courage to go through the rites.

ka par wa tãã ka fu nyɔɔr bɔɔr

Your guide's vagina is as wide as a hippo's den.

bɔɔ kyɪnɛ paar hee na ɪɛn bɔɔ nɛɛ

Your penis (or clitoris) is as stout and scaly as the lizard on the 'koo' tree.¹

ka bɔɔ yɔbir (gyembir) kpĩrkpĩr (gyira, garu) na koo bandaa

At this the young wife smiled, but soon resumed her solemn bearing and with the help of the guide her brother-in-law sent some beer over for her to drink. Anyone can (and does) abuse the neophytes during this period, though this is usually done by

¹ This tree is a favourite place for lizards.

children and by joking partners. It is explicitly a test of their self-control, to ensure that they can bear insults without responding.

The day following the whitewashing, when the neophytes have finished collecting, they return to the Bagre house and in the evening enter the room for more instruction. When this is over, other members come in numbers to throw (*loba*) money to the neophytes as they sit in the room. In return they are provided with pots of beer; Bagre ceremonies are always accompanied by much drinking.

The next day the neophytes disperse to their various houses and spend the morning collecting grain. When they return, they sit under a near-by tree until evening and then go to sleep outside or else up on the rooftop. They can talk among themselves and in the same house, but not to others. If one of them dies at this time, it shows that something is badly wrong and the individual is buried without a funeral ceremony; he may for example have slept with his wife and failed to confess. Even over the next two or three years and especially before the first rains fall, the death of any neophyte may be assigned to Bagre (W. 5837); to die with the whitewash on one's body is a yet more direct indication that the ordeal has claimed a victim, and hence such a death is particularly to be deplored. Essentially the Whitening Ceremony involves a test, an oath as well as a purification, and thus prepares the neophyte for the events 'in the room' that occur during the Bagre Dance.

The Beating of the Malt (Kε ngmir)

The Ceremony of the Malt is said to be performed three weeks before the Bagre Dance and three weeks after the Whitening Ceremony. In 1950-1, Maale held it on 16 December, one week after the Whitening Ceremony, and two weeks before the Dance itself. The performance leads to a certain lifting of pressure from the neophytes, who are now allowed to speak to people, though not to rejoin their domestic groups. They still go round collecting for the major ceremony of the Bagre Dance, though it is now fowls instead of the grain they have been seeking over the previous period; for this the guide is a small boy carrying a chicken basket. They beg or seize the fowls (W. 2245), which are later sacrificed to the Bagre deity. Once again detailed instructions are given to the neophytes on how to obtain the maximum number of chickens without actually causing open conflict (W. 2290 ff.).

The guinea corn collected during the previous period is used for the Bagre Dance, though the elders have themselves to make a major contribution in addition. Some is given to those who played the xylophone in the room. The late chief of Birifu, Gandaa, had himself been a great player at such ceremonies and always took his xylophone along, even when he could no longer play. Each neophyte would then send one basket of malted grain to the chief, who would provide a pot of beer for every man who played in the room (A 11).

The ceremony begins with a sacrifice to the place of the guardian spirit of the clan; Naayiili, for example, sacrifice at a particular baobab (*tuɔ*) in Sonkye. In the case of Kyaa, they sacrificed two fowls to the White Cave in the scarp above their farms and also sent a man to a hill near Lawra to bring back some earth which was made into a ball to put at the foot of the ancestor shrines; in this context the ancestor shrines and the guardian spirits are sometimes said to be the same (946).

At the ceremony itself everyone gathers at the Bagre house, the Speakers, elders, guides, second-graders, and neophytes; they all walk towards the river or swamp and seat themselves in an open field (*gbangbala*, W. 3046), each guide taking with him a handful of the guinea corn ears that the neophytes had been given on their earlier rounds. As they seat themselves in the field—each neophyte with a guide and second-grader, the Speaker recites the White Bagre from its beginning up to the account of the present stage of the ceremony and the congregation repeats his words line by line. This is done while the guides thresh a small quantity of guinea corn with sticks (W. 3184). The senior members take some grains of the guinea corn, put them in a container (nowadays a bottle) and say that they will change it into something else. Secretly they substitute some malted grain and display it to those present (1498 and W. 3195).

The congregation then moves to the 'swamp' itself where each second-grader dives into the river with his neophyte and they are allowed to bathe and swim for a while. Afterwards the congregation returns to the Bagre room where the White Bagre is recited three times. While this is happening the guides count the money that their neophytes were given during their rounds.

After the recital the neophytes are allowed to break their fast. While they eat and drink, the guides tell their second-graders the

amount of money each has collected and the Speaker interrogates each second-grader about these amounts. The second-grader looking after the oldest neophyte (*Bo kpêê*) is asked first, and so on down to the most junior. On the first two occasions fictitious figures are given. But in answer to the third question the right amount is finally quoted, a pattern of behaviour that also occurs at funerals and at marriages. When giving their returns, the members display their command of the vocabulary of numbers, trying to complicate ordinary usage by combining them in various ways. The following examples give an idea of this:

- a. 2,000 less 100 (1,900)
tur ayi vuñ kuba
- b. the big 20 (20,000)
lizer kpêê
- c. 3,560 less 5 (3,555)
tur ata ni kɔɔru nuu dɔɔl
lizɛɛ ata ngma nuu

By late afternoon the ceremony is over and the neophytes have their evening meal and are whitewashed once again. They receive further instruction in Bagre matters, especially in the wild animals that are associated with the cult (W. 3436) and how the meat should be divided if an animal is killed (W. 3328). At the end of the ceremony the neophytes and their companions go out on a ritual hunt with throwing-sticks and guns. The meat of certain special animals that they bring back is forbidden to non-initiates; it is Bagre meat. If they kill none of them on this occasion, they must do so later to pay their debt to Bagre, or rather to its senior members (W. 3472). The first such animal they kill after their initiation belongs to the association (W. 3428). This act, it is said, will take away the 'dirt' of the neophytes (W. 3431); a constant theme of Bagre is the attempt to reduce the pollution of the new entrants, though only for the period of the performances, since purity is an unnatural state.

Some wild animals are prohibited by the cult (W. 3436), others preferred (W. 3448); the text gives four of each, the pairing indicated by the numbers is my own suggestion and not one on which I would put much weight.

<i>Prohibited</i> (House)	<i>Preferred</i> (Bagre)
1. boar	2. rabbit
2. porcupine	1. duiker (<i>wala</i>) ¹
3. grass-cutter	4. partridge
4. guinea fowl	3. squirrel

The most important aspect of the hunt, as far as the text is concerned, has less to do with classification than with social relationships. Like most of the simpler societies, the LoDagaa prescribe certain modes of distributing the meat of animals, whether that of domestic animals offered in sacrifice or celebration, or that of wild animals killed in the hunt. The distribution follows the main lines of social obligation. In states, the local chief has his share; elsewhere, as among the LoDagaa, the meat is distributed along the dominant lines of kinship, descent, affinity, joking partnership, and friendship; certain main portions go to close kinsfolk, especially to the father and mother. But the Bagre society replaces ties of kinship with ties of association (or rather incorporates the one in the other), even to the extent of providing its own 'father' and 'mother'. The Bagre mother is the one who sponsors the neophyte; the Bagre father is the Speaker. At the same time the father of Bagre is the rain, the mother the earth, and together they produce the crops that are needed for the performances (W. 4770). Because of this conscious realignment, the whole process of distribution has to be redefined in terms of the association and, as usual, the myth does this by dramatizing the difference between the two methods in a conflict situation.

When the Beating of the Malt has been performed, the neophytes can talk to people again, but they are still abused by all and sundry. This treatment continues until the main ceremony, known as Bagre Dance. This is the central performance of the whole series, when the new members are relieved of their restrictions, killed and revived by means of the Bagre medicine, and are formally inducted into the association. This is the occasion that most of the population associate with the performance of Bagre.

¹ The antelope here is *wala*; the roan antelope given to the beings of the wild for their medicine is a *wal piel*, a horse-like antelope that is the counterpart of the stallion given by other clans when such medicine is transferred to them (W. 2693). Later we are told that it is the beings from the river that get the stallion and those from the hill the 100,000 cowries (W. 5390). On another level, the stallion is used to transport the aged to the ceremony and the 100,000 is used to buy grain (W. 4821).

The Bagre Dance (Bo siɔr)

The main ceremony of the whole sequence is known as *Bo siɔr* (LD. *Bag sebr*), the Bagre Dance (W. 3481); *siɔr* is a more athletic kind of dance than the *bine* that has formed the main dance up till now and it is accompanied by the larger xylophone (*gyil bere*), which is played inside the room.

I should add that great store is set on the production of these instruments for the ceremony. They represent a considerable investment of wealth and some return payment is always given on occasions such as these. At the Bagre Dance a special pot of xylophone beer (*gyil dǎǎ*) is placed by its side; into this a playing stick is dipped and the beer is then thrown away.

The grain for this beer is provided by the 'Bagre mother'. In 1950, the Baaperi 'headman' sent a large basketful (*pɛsɔ̃*) of malted grain to the owners of the xylophone two days before the Bagre Dance was due to be performed, on the day known as 'the collecting of the malt' (*kɛɛ wuur* or *kyi wuur*). At that time some instruction is given to the initiates and a start is made to the brewing of the beer which will later be given to the owners and players of the xylophones and the drums (*kuɔr*) that are used. My assistant, for example, received two pots of beer (some eight gallons in all) for playing during part of one night. In addition each neophyte brings two fowls, one for the owner of the xylophone and one for the owner of the drum. Usually these fowls are taken from the gifts given to the neophytes when they have been successfully brought back to life. Like other gifts, they must travel outside the lineage performing the Bagre (122).

The people providing the xylophone on this occasion were the household of the late chief, Gandaa. This important figure had built up the chiefship of Birifu from nothing and had become a wealthy as well as a prolific man—he had some 200 children. His wealth was derived partly from medicine shrines, partly from the farming contributions of the residents of Birifu, and the remainder from a variety of other sources. He was himself a great player and kept several xylophones in good condition so that they could be brought out at funerals and other ceremonies. Indeed it was expected that people would ask for the chief's xylophones and these requests provided him with a small income which together with the money from playing at ceremonies and funerals helped to maintain his vast

household. At the time of the 1950 Bagre he had been dead for six months and the elder of Baaperi, who was one of his 'headmen' and whose sector was adjacent to that of the chief's lineage, accepted the xylophones as before. But in the other clan sector performing Bagre that year, that of Maale, the elder and 'headman', Depep, borrowed xylophones from two other places, both in Kyaa. Consequently he had to divide the grain into three and sent only a small basket (*pɛlɛ*) to the chief's house. This they refused, saying that they had always sent Maale a full basket on these occasions. This statement was no doubt true, but the appeal to tradition probably concealed the fact that before the creation of the chiefship instituted a redistributive system through the centre, the basis of Bagre exchanges was a reciprocal one, with adjacent units performing these services for one another.¹ Depep's action was almost certainly a reversion to an earlier pattern, in opposition to the policy of centralization which colonial overrule, like the national overrule to which it gave way, made inevitable in one form or other. I heard Depep later apologize to the Naayili elders, saying that he was forced into this by Bonyir of Kyaa; as his Bagre joking partners this clan has a great influence in such matters. Nevertheless it should be added that they are unable to force their views upon their partners unless the latter are willing to accept them, for they exercise only moral pressure.

My assistant at this time was the son of the late chief and he had made plans for the Bagre Dance some time earlier. He had his Dane gun repaired so that he could shoot it off when the neophytes came out of the room after successfully passing through their ordeal. Furthermore he reckoned on taking his father's xylophone to play in the Bagre room: 'My father was always asked to take his

¹ K. G.'s comment presents a slightly different view. 'After the chief's death his xylophones were allowed to decay and none of his sons could play as he did. Depep therefore hired the xylophones of the best available player, Nikara, who was a sister's son of Gandaa'. K. G. insists that a similar situation existed with regard to the late chief, who 'did not allow chieftaincy to interfere with customary rites. If his xylophones were hired, it was because they were the best for miles around. Players from Nandom, Jirapa, and the Ivory Coast all came to him to purchase xylophones. Hence he was always busy making these instruments almost all the year round. He was the only player for the room as well as for the outside Bagre tunes and he played all the time until he went home. So his xylophones were not hired because he was a chief. During my father's lifetime, when his clan Naayili had their Bagre, he normally used his xylophones in the room but he still hired Depep's instruments as well as those of Tekoder, and these men were always given the traditional baskets of malt as well as the fowls.'

xylophone to every Bagre performance in Birifu.' But things did not work out as he anticipated. His gun was repaired and he shot off so much powder that he thought he would get a sheep from the 'Bagre mother'. For the xylophone his lineage received only a portion of the total amount, a large basket of guinea corn, for reasons I have explained. Kpaari was so annoyed about this that on Bagre morning, when he 'swept' his sister-in-law with a guinea fowl, he beat the bird so violently against the stool she sat on that it died. People do this when they are dissatisfied with the Bagre, for example, because they have not been given enough beer; otherwise they allow the guides to save the birds which are needed for distribution. In this connection it is also significant that the Bagre Speaker from the late chief's house, who had held a position of *primus inter pares* when the chief was alive, no longer had quite the same control and complained that Maale were making many mistakes in their performance.¹

The Bagre Dance takes place over three days, preceded by the Bagre for Bambara Beans when there is some playful dancing; the other days are Bagre Eve, Bagre Day, and the End of the Dance. When the beer, which has hitherto been guarded by women neophytes, is ready, the ceremony proper can begin.

Day 1. The Bagre for Bambara Beans (Bo singbile)

In Lawra (LoDagaba) the first day of the Bagre Dance itself is sometimes known as *dāā paal*, 'the beer filling'. The neophytes and spectators stand round the vats and sing '*Dāā paal, dāā paal*'. The small pots are then filled up, and thereafter an initiate is forbidden to use the word *paal*, to fill. A member will say instead, '*Pur a dāā ka a shw a ngman*, pour beer till the brim is reached'; whereas a non-initiate will say, '*Pur a dāā paala ngman*'. By means of such circumlocutions one knows who is and who is not a member.

I attended this ceremony in Baaperi on 30 December 1950. On this day the guides cook all the food crops that have been forbidden to the neophytes, that is bambara beans (*singbile*), black and white beans (*beng pla, beng sɔla*), and yams (*nyu der*, water yams, for

¹ K. G. comments: 'Each "Bagre mother" hires a "Bagre father" to come and perform the Bagre for them. If Kyaa have Bagre and hire Naayili to act as their Bagre fathers, then Doyeri would organize it and he is to blame if anything goes wrong. Similarly if Naayili invites Kyaa to act as their "Bagre fathers", then Bonyir has this role. Again the influence of my father in these matters was negligible. If anything it was because he himself was well versed in the myth.'

nyu war are not prohibited). All these are cooked for the neophytes and divided out among neighbouring clan sectors.

The taboo on bambara beans gives rise to a joking situation between members and non-members of the association. The latter can thief the beans but members cannot. It is a perpetual joke at this time and I, as a non-initiate, was often urged to steal some, though I was also told a story of a lad whose 'penis became sick' through doing so. The situation is not dissimilar to that of a sister's son snatching from his mother's clan, though the action here is described as thieving rather than snatching.

Day 2. Bagre Eve (Bo tisoo)

It is after dark that the food is eventually divided out, and around the Bagre house little fires are lit to roast the yams. When these are ready, the guides and their neophytes sit in separate groups; the former have two yams each, which they cut into four, one part for the neophyte, one for themselves, one for the Speakers, and one for general distribution. A group of people sitting near the house (all this part of the ceremony took place outside) collected the central slice of each yam, cut it into two and placed the parts in separate baskets. One of these baskets was to be divided among the four main patrilines while the other was divided among the three constituent lineages of Ngmanbili. When the yams had been shared out, some were put inside for roasting on the following day.

It was now fully dark and the neophytes were called around the pots of beer that stood outside. Some of the beer was poured into small pots that were carried off to other houses, so that it could not be stolen by the non-initiates. The neophytes brought the gourds acquired at the Whitening Ceremony and they were hung on a guinea corn stalk and suspended in the beer. The Speaker then shouted out, 'Let the neophytes come' (*a bobil ba wa*). They came forward and cried out, three times, 'the beer is full' (*dãã paal*), and afterwards, '*Hoas, hoas, hoas*', which was again repeated three times.

Just before dawn they cry to the Bagre deity who is believed to descend among them; 'the god who descends', and the whole problem of two-way communication between god and man, is a constant theme of the Bagre myth (W. 104). The neophytes have been sleeping on the rooftop of the Bagre house, huddled under

their light cloths or lying close to a smouldering log. At cock-crow they are woken up by the Bagre elders and rushed off to the east side of the house where the first rays of the sun are rising. From here they are hustled back and forth, across the flat roof, looking for the descending god. They go to his shrine built in the neck of the granary where they kill a small fowl, but this time it is refused: *Wen, wen, wen zɔɔra, ho, ho, ho*, they cry. The fowl appears to be the offspring of the Starting Fowl with which each neophyte is endowed at the opening ceremony (W. 3630). When the sun has risen, they all go down to a point on the path that leads westwards to the river where it is crossed by another track. There, at this point of intersection and dispersal, they kill a fowl on a small raised pile of earth, which serves as an altar both to the Earth shrine and to distant ancestors (Goody 1962: 245). As they do so, they cry out a prayer, repeating each phrase three times:

Path, take the fowl,
sɔr de nuɔ,
 path, refuse the fowl.
sɔr zɔɔr nuɔ,
ho ho ho.

After that they are all fed with beer, porridge, and soup that now includes beef (W. 3620). Later on that morning they return to the room where a fowl is killed to the skin bags (*bo wuɔ*) they acquired at the Whitening Ceremony. Before the sacrifice is made, the guides, initiates and Speakers chant a number of songs, of which the following is an example:

The Bagre bag's fowl will hit you,
bo wuɔ nuɔ pɔb ye
A wuɔ nuɔ na pɔb
A wuɔ nuɔ na pɔb
Hãã hãã

For the word 'fowl', the names of all the forbidden foods are substituted one by one, that is, yams, beer, and beans. The song is sung three times to the accompaniment of drums, made from gourds (*kuɔr*), both big and small. The bags are taken from the neophytes and hung on a house-post.

Another song is chanted, insisting again on the same uncertainty that had characterized the sacrifice to the 'path'.

The bag refuses the fowl,
wuɔ ʒɔɔ nuɔ wɛ

the bag accepts the fowl.
wuɔ de nuɔ wɛ
ho, ho, ho-oo.

When the offering has been made, those present break into another song, which is again repeated three times:

The Bagre bag strikes the fowl.
bɔɔ wuɔ ngme nuɔ yee
bɔɔ wuɔ ngme nuɔ
na kpaa kpaa kpaa
na kpai kpai,
hey hey hey.

Now that the bags have been dealt with, the neophytes are given a meal and await the most critical part of the ceremony. For this is the night when they are killed and brought to life again. Indeed, it is actually claimed that they die and are saved (*bɛ ko ti siung*).¹

The attempt to build up tension among the neophytes is clear from the text of the White Bagre. A headband is again tied around each neophyte (W. 3762); the notion of confession is again insisted upon (W. 3758). The medicine is formally carried into the room and is sprinkled with water as it comes (W. 3809). Later on all lights are extinguished, the Speaker roars, and in the middle of the room stands the pot of 'poison' with an arrow in it.

First of all the neophytes receive lengthy instructions which once again call upon them to confess any breach of Bagre discipline, lest the medicine fail to work and not bring them back to life. The confession takes place in front of the medicine, whose power is indicated by the further spurting of cold water over it (W. 3875). A red cock is sacrificed to the medicine, which is addressed by the usual Bagre invocation (W. 3908). The senior members are then told to put their hands in their bags and bring out the leather bottles (*gan*) used for formal divining (W. 3949). Sitting next to their respective neophytes, the first-graders untie the bell from the gourd that each one has carried and these parts of the gear are placed in front of them (W. 3981). In this ceremony it

¹ In Lawra, at this time, all ancestral shrines are brought into the Bagre room and a cow is sacrificed to them, to be eaten by initiates alone (A 10).

is said of the gourd that 'the big hen's egg hatches today' (W. 3970), for it plays a major part in the ceremony. The metaphor of the egg serves to stress the careful way in which the gourd must be treated, for it is equivalent to a person's life.

The seniors then cast the marked cowries from their leather containers to see whether they may go ahead (W. 3987). When this has been determined, the bell is taken by the guides and the gourds are lowered in the beer in which an arrow rests, making it appear as though everything was covered in arrow poison. Each neophyte is flanked by both a senior and a junior member—the latter being the usual guide. The gourds, filled with the 'poison', are handed back to the senior members who place them in front of the nostrils of the neophyte. First of all the Speaker (the Bagre 'father') tries the poison himself, roaring out as it gets near his nostrils that it is too strong for him to bear (W. 4017). The xylophone strikes up and the medicine is poured out into broken pots for the neophytes. The situation is rendered yet more threatening by the throwing sticks (or cudgels) that are now brought into the room (W. 4073). Further tests are made and the lights are put out. When the strophanthus seeds have been ground up (W. 4136), the Speaker places his own medicine gourd in front of him, shakes his rattle and orders the senior members to take their sticks and seize the neophytes. In the myth, the neophytes are now in tears, but the tension is broken by laughter and the guides whisper to their charges, telling them to lie down. Throughout this performance, hunting terms are used to describe what is happening. 'They are poisoning the arrows (*ba zel a lo*)', the members declare, as they prepare the pot that stands in front of the neophytes. In fact it contains only beer, but in it has been placed an arrow and some roots. The arrow is of course assumed to have been poisoned with strophanthus (*yebe*) while powder from tree roots is an essential constituent of all medicines. The beer is then poured into the round gourd given to each neophyte, though first the senior members taste it to see whether the mixture is poisonous enough, roaring out as they do so.

No incident better indicates the climate of mixed belief and disbelief that marks such ceremonies. Here the LoDagaa are behaving in somewhat the same way as the Masons of contemporary Britain (some million in all), who are also 'killed' and 'revived' during the course of their initiatory procedures. It is not that one

lot 'believes' and the other 'disbelieves' in the procedures through which they are being led. On a formal, theological level the Bagre ritual does appear to offer its members a means of conquering death, which is later revealed as a sham. But few of the neophytes really accept the threats of the Speakers at their face value. For most people a certain scepticism modifies more extreme forebodings. But in any case, there is never a complete gap in knowledge about these matters between members and non-members; snippets of information invariably leak out, friend whispers confidentially to friend, and, above all, one of the informal roles of the guide is to tell the neophyte what to expect. Thus the whole ceremony has an air of acting about it, though this is only one element in a complex whole which proceeds in an atmosphere of compounded belief and disbelief.

While the initiates are 'killed' and 'revived', their progress is punctuated by a number of songs which form part of the text (W. 4194). These songs vary somewhat as between local parts of the society, but within one group they are relatively fixed. New songs are often created for playing outside the Bagre room and after hearing of one incident bringing discredit on a neophyte, my assistant turned to me and said, 'I must make up a song about that in the room'. The satirical sanctions in these songs serve to reinforce the more formal authority of the elders and the more distant authority of supernatural agencies.

But the basic songs are fairly static, though one hears different variants at various times. One sequence went as follows. When the neophytes were 'killed', they sang:

A big question lies on the floor,
soor bala gã teung yee

a big question lies there but no one can solve it.
soor bala gã teung ka sooro ba ka

The songs sung in the room refer to the actions taking place. When they revive the neophytes, they sing (W. 4199):

Death kills,
kũũ ku na yee

but *Bo wen* saves us, so death can't kill.
bɔɔ wen faa bar ka kũũ ta kue

and then:

We've pulled the witch's old tooth.

sɔɔ nyin koro ka ti vir kpiru

After this the members call for a reward for all they are doing:

Bring us the hundred,

yɛ wani kuba yee

bring us the hundred to pay for the neophytes,

yɛ wani kuba ka ti lɔb bɔbɔ

bring us the hundred.

yɛ wani kuba yee

You Bagre mothers, bring us the hundred because the first wasn't enough.

bɔɔ ma mine yɛ wani kuba an ba ta

The revival of the neophytes is still problematical, despite the earlier rehearsal under the aegis of the beings of the wild (W. 2457). Indeed the present situation dramatizes the conflict between God (or god) and the beings which forms a central theme of the Black Bagre that follows. For the first suggestion from the junior members about reviving the dead novices is that they should

'enter the room,
take the bells,
and the things of the beings,
and shake them and see'. (W. 4261-4).¹

The juniors fail and the seniors take over; after again calling for confession, they shake the bells and roll their tongues in the ears of the dead (W. 4342), as the beings had done on the previous occasion (W. 2680). While the role of God (or god) is not specifically stressed at this point, that of the beings is clearly equivocal since one of them deliberately led men astray by intervening when they were discussing God and declaring that 'he was God in the Bagre house' (W. 2462-4).

Directly they have been brought to life again, the neophytes are warned not to tell the secrets of Bagre to outsiders, even to the Oil Bagre members (W. 4464), and they are encouraged to learn the myth themselves (W. 4391).

¹ 'Things of the beings' appear to qualify rather than to supplement the bells.

When the instruction is finished for the time being, the guides throw burning brands outside the room (W. 4494). It is of some interest to see what different interpretations an act of this kind can generate. I thought at first that this was a symbol, perhaps of rebirth, but also a sign of their rejoicing and a challenge to the world outside. For non-members seize upon the brands and try to toss them back again into the room. However, my collaborator drew my attention to the similarity between this ceremony and the annual fire-festival of Moslem communities in West Africa, e.g. Bugum in Dagomba and Jentigi in Gonja, and commented:

No non-initiate is allowed into the Bagre room during these performances. In order to dramatise the situation some of the guides are asked to act as non-initiates who have stealthily entered the room to steal the food and drink. They are then chased out of the room with burning brands. When they get lost among the dancers, the fire is thrown into the crowd. The significance of this, I think, is to demonstrate to the initiates what would happen should any outsider actually dare enter the Bagre room to spy or to steal food.

Outside, the non-initiates are given their own food, yams, beans, and bambara beans, which they cook themselves (W. 4507), emphasizing their separateness and yet their participation as members of the same community who have contributed food, and neophytes too.

About half an hour later the neophytes emerge and walk round three circles, first round the xylophones and then round the house. This is the occasion when the bells, which had earlier been untied from the gourds, are 'hidden' by the guides (when their charges are 'dead') and then found by them when they recover. As the neophytes go out to find the bells, they sing:

Give us way, give us way,
yi ngmaa guo ku ti yee
a twisting way.
na gũ gũ gũ

This is an appeal to the non-members dancing outside to let them pass. As they walk around the house the neophytes' eyes are covered (W. 4519) and their heads put under the arms of the guides. The neophytes are asked, 'Do you know the place you'll meet Bagre?' (W. 4521) and they walk slowly round the house, singing:

Introduction

Let's creep out,
yì gũũ gu yie
 let's creep out,
yì gũũ gu yie
 like creeping creatures.
na guura guuru.

On the third occasion they stop and collect the bells that have been hidden in the outside wall, and as they return to the room they sing

Beware of the house posts,
yì bɔɔ ni lue
 beware of the crooked posts,
yì bɔɔni lue lu' gɔn gɔn
 the crooked posts of [Depep's] house.
Depep yir puɔ lu' gɔn gɔn.

Small pots of beer without any yeast are carried in procession, one for each neophyte. This is the point at which is sung the song

'The Bagre beer pot is small and empty.
bo dāã duli na kpol kpol

When the neophytes have returned to the room, the women follow with the beer. More is allocated to the senior members (*bo ma minɛ dāã*) and all get down to the business of drinking. When they have finished, all come out once more, singing

Let's go outside and enter again.
yì i ka ti yung ti bɔ̃ lɛ kpe

They walk round the xylophone and finally return to the room for more instruction.

The whole process of killing and reviving the neophytes continues almost until daybreak. They are left lying for an hour or so before being revived with the Bagre medicine. Only the senior members are concerned with this part of the ceremony; the junior ones stand by to whitewash the neophytes. First their bodies are whitewashed on one side as they lie on the floor of the room. Even the slats of the small xylophone have white crosses painted on the end. Later they are woken up, killed again, and turned over so that they can be whitewashed on the other side as well. As before, the whitewashing is a further test of earlier behaviour.



7. The neophytes and their guides sit waiting after the shaving of their heads (Birifu, 1970)

The neophytes are sworn not to reveal what has happened to them during the ceremony, lest they incur great suffering, as is brought out in the following songs:

(If you) say (reveal the secret), your head breaks in two,
yel ka zu wel gele

Say and your stomach bursts.
yel ka puɔ pur mhaba

The song continues in the same vein for several verses.

Finally the neophytes are allowed to go to bed, while the guides roam around the clan sector where the Bagre is being performed, worrying every adult in the area for payments. This they do till dawn. At the house, the xylophone plays on while spectators dance. It has been a day of tribulation for the neophytes and their kin; tomorrow is their day of celebration.

Day 3. Bagre Day (Bo muna)

The guides are up early the next morning, continuing their rounds of all the houses of the patriclan and forcing people to give them gifts. If these are not forthcoming they get hold of the individual in question and swing him up and down until he relents. In Lawra, the collecting is yet more vigorously carried out and the guides go round to every house, shaking the rattles used by the elders and drinking any beer they find, unless the woman who owns it first gives them money. If she has neither beer nor money, *o ya paar*, 'she'll pay with her vagina'.

When they have finished collecting for themselves, the guides return to get the equipment needed to bathe and shave the heads of the neophytes, that is the razor, water, and shea oil. When these are ready the Bagre elder arranges for the Black Bagre to be repeated three times (W. 4870) and about mid-morning they start to shave, bathe, and anoint the neophytes. The shaving of the head is carried out on persons going through various rites of passage, but it is especially associated with the treatment of widows at funerals (Goody 1962: 61). For the bathing, each Bagre guide brings a chunk of sun-baked earth, picked from the ruins of an old house; this is his seat, which has later to be destroyed. The neophytes are bathed sitting on the brick, where they are brought guinea corn porridge to eat and guinea corn beer to drink. They eat and drink naked, sitting between two members. The clothes

they have been wearing (which have been few and old) are cut off them and thrown into a hole (*bo yaar*, the Bagre grave) because they are 'dirty'. And for the first time (as far as the neophytes are concerned), their food is accompanied by meat and flavoured with pepper. It is the senior members that eat first and it is they who get the head of each pot of beer brought to them by the guides, in order to make it cool for the others. As they sit there, the White Bagre is recited three times and further instruction is given about the purchase of Bagre medicine (W. 4827) and the use of the horse acquired in this way to carry old men to the performances; the initiates are also told about their duties to others as well as ways of recognizing members and of deceiving outsiders (W. 4962). When the meal is finished, guns are fired and the neophytes run inside the room one by one as women line the way and ululate as each goes by. Holding a knife in the right hand, the guides go first to demonstrate the way to run elegantly. The neophytes follow, imitating this manner of majestic locomotion.

Once inside, the neophytes sit beside their corresponding senior member who is already in his place. Now it is the Black Bagre that is recited to them, the story of the Creation. It is told three times in all, but parts are cut out the second time, and the third is a much abbreviated version.

After the last recital of the Black Bagre the neophytes are dressed by their guides with the clothes provided by their parents or guardians. As they come out, led by the Speakers, they sing:

Make way,
make way for the neophytes to pass.
yi ngmaa guɔ ku ti yee
yi ngmaa guɔ ku ti bɔbɔ tɔl

They circle the xylophone three times and then burst into a lament:

<i>hee wuyee</i>	Alas
<i>hee wuyee</i>	alas
<i>hee wuyee</i>	alas
<i>e-he yaa yee, e-hee yee</i>	alas, alas, alas

The xylophone players now drop the Bagre tunes and play other songs for the dancers. Meanwhile the guides rush their neophytes

over to the west of the open area¹ and then hurry them back to the front of the house where they take their seats for the gift-giving ceremony. Again it is as if they were being put through a funeral ceremony, even mourning for their dead selves.

When I arrived at Baaperi about 4.30 p.m., the neophytes had just come out and were sitting on chairs and stools, dressed in their best, the women in front, the men behind. One of the late chief's daughters held an umbrella over her brother's wife as she ate her millet porridge and was generally fussed over.²

When the meal was finished, everybody returned to the room for more reciting and more singing. As the time came for them to emerge, there was much excitement among the large crowd that was building up, with people coming from all over Birifu, and as far afield as Tanchera and Nadoli, some twenty miles south. The guides gathered at the entrance to the room, or rather at the special doorway that was cut in the wall of the courtyard on Bagre Eve. Here again is another striking similarity with the funerals. For when the corpse is taken from his room to the funeral stand outside, a special exit is made in the wall, though it is not as wide as the Bagre one (Goody 1962: 77).

As the neophytes came out the guides held a brush in one hand and a basket in the other (W. 4972); the brush consists of a single strand of the grass (*saar*) used for sweeping and the basket is the one in which the grain has been collected. The neophytes come out, preceded by their senior members, and the guides sweep the 'dirt' from their backs, 'sweeping away the bad things (*bebe*) that had caught them', the trouble that had made them become initiated. As they come out, they sing, telling the dancers to make way for them.

The male neophytes are now given the bows and arrows which they had left in their own rooms throughout the ritual sequence. In their right hands they carry knives, on the end of which are maize cobs to prevent them doing any damage; they also carry the bells, which they knock against the open palm of the left hand.

¹ It is possibly at this time that the neophytes' gourds are broken; the parallel with the breaking of the calabash which has been used to whitewash a widow was pointed out to me by one young man who recognized this as a kind of test, *pol* (2473).

² I do not know whether this meal was a substitution for the naked lunch. There was a strong feeling among educated LoWiili against nudity and this was beginning to make itself felt even in ceremonies of this kind.

As they reached the xylophones, they walked around them, singing:

Give us way, a twisting way.
yì ngmaa gu kò tì gō gō gō

Three times they walked round the xylophones, while some of the onlookers joined in, dancing as they went. They broke off and went over to a tree some forty yards away, then all turned round together and rushed back to take their seats on a line of tree-trunks resting upon supporting poles that had been prepared for them to sit on. The baskets, which had already been used for several purposes, were now set down at their sides for people to throw in their contributions of money and delicacies such as *niiri* (light brown seeds used for soup) or *kpogo* (small white rings made from cassava flour).

People crowded round the new members bringing cocks for the males and guinea fowl for the females. With these birds, they proceed to 'sweep' (*pir*) the neophytes, brushing them across the shoulders, first the left, then the right, across the chest, and finally beating the head of the fowl against the log on which they were sitting (*ba vaarana*). The birds are killed unless the guides can rush forward and save them (W. 4997). One of these fowls from each neophyte is usually given to the owner of the xylophone and of the large gourd drum. The guides take the rest to the 'Bagre mother' with whom they are shared.

While the giving of gifts goes on, the women ululate, the men fire guns, the dancing continues, and the noise and excitement are intense. The whole performance is a display of wealth and prestige which is particularly marked now that a new system of stratification is emerging. By far the majority of those present were to be found around the woman married into the late chief's house. Partly these were her husband's brothers, probably the only people who were in paid jobs and at the same time had access to some recently acquired inheritance. Partly they were friends or supporters who had received favours in the past. The contrast was great between the mass of guinea fowl received by these fortunate few and the meagre offerings of some of the less well-connected persons present.

When the excitement died down, the neophytes were led back into the room for more instruction and were later released to return

home or to dance and drink with their lovers or spouses. They are now members of the Bagre association and it only remains to tie up the ends of the ritual.

Day 4. The End of the Dance (Bo gyinyiri)

The last day of the Bagre Dance is known as the End of the Dance, the literal meaning being 'the day of the leaping feet'; it is put aside for drinking, dancing, and for courting girls and it is then that many marriages are arranged. In Lawra the same day is called *Bara de nyur*, 'dog tracks his prey with his nose', the implication of which is that the neophytes have successfully completed their initiation.

During the day-time, both the Black and White Bagre are recited to the neophytes, who spend most of the day listening to and taking in the words.

I arrived at Baaperi at about 5 o'clock on 27 December and the neophytes had already emerged from the room where they had sat right through the recitation of the Bagre. They had finished crying to the Bagre deity and the new members were now sitting on the rooftop, wearing normal clothes, and were being addressed by a Speaker. Before it got too dark, he led them in procession down the ladder, shaking a rattle as he went. Each new initiate was led by a senior member who was singing a song, the words of which were first enunciated by the Speaker. Around their necks hung the bell which will remain there until the final ceremony, the Bagre Bells, which follows shortly. Then the bells, which are 'like an egg' (W. 5063), are washed and the neophytes are warned that it is a great offence to commit adultery (W. 5072).

In their hand the neophytes carry a knife or long dagger. The knives again recall funerals where sextons carry them into the grave to make sure no wandering soul is buried with the corpse; 'they are like corpses', I was once told (A. 11). These knives are carried around until the neophytes make their final appearance in the local market, an act which brings them back fully into the life of the community.

The neophytes are given further instruction at this time, being told specifically about the role of the sister's son and why he is entitled to a share of Bagre food (W. 5076). This statement includes a classical justification of matrilineal inheritance which is not now practised in Birifu, although some are aware that certain of their

ancestors did so; it is a justification phrased strictly in terms of intergenerational tensions. The neophytes are again encouraged to learn the Bagre myth and even to incorporate passages from other people's versions (W. 5210). They are also encouraged to ask questions as the only way of learning (W. 5351 and 5420) and the Speaker answers certain set queries about the relationship between God and gods (W. 5248) which are dealt with more fully in the Black Bagre, the importance of which is strongly emphasized (W. 5297 ff.).

The neophytes and their companions take part in two special dances and when they are finished go a short distance away where they receive some last brief words and then set off to their own homes. After having been given beer to drink, they are virtually free to act as normal people. On one such occasion I sat drinking beer on the rooftop of the Bagre house when some of the new initiates came to join us; their humble and silent demeanour now gone, they entered fully into the ordinary conversation. One of my companions started shaking the bell tied round a girl's neck—a forbidden act which can in theory bring great harm, but which was now treated as a joke.

At this point in the ritual sequence, the Maale performances were taking place a week (six days) behind the Baaperi ones and the End of the Dance came on 2 January. Again I arrived at about five o'clock when the recital in the room had already taken place and the neophytes were sitting over their beer. Soon they came out of the room to dance, though only for a short time because a funeral was taking place in another lineage of the same clan. The final ritual occurred when the neophytes were called to the rooftop where they clustered around the granary as a fowl was sacrificed to the Bagre deity. After half an hour they came down the ladder singing the song which, in Lawra, gives the day its name:

Bara de nyuwr, fã, fã, fã

I had earlier translated this as 'Dog track his prey with his nose', but the *bara* can also refer to the knife used for shaving their head: the 'nose' is the hair.¹

¹ My original translation was 'The neophyte gets a nose' but K. G. corrected me. He also gave an alternative version of this song and comments:

bara wõna nyũũ yee
bara wõna nyũũ na vã vã

The song was followed by the lament:

hee wu yee, ayai, ayai.

The words of this song simply indicate that the end has come; the xylophone now changes to play *bine*, the music that was played up to the time of the big dance. Various songs are sung to the music, including

Bagre matters are like that,
bo yele ngmen le

turning, turning, turning;
gyiri, gyiri, gyiri

Bagre matters are like that,
bo yele ngmen le

always bringing death.
ma ku kû.

The *gyiri, gyiri* appears to refer to the 'leaping of feet', but there is also the implication that the dance is now ended, the fire is dying down. The leaper is tired and weary.

The neophytes leave and go off to the house of their guide, where they drink the Guides' Beer, made from malt given by the neophytes. Afterwards they returned to the Bagre house to eat food prepared with the fowl slaughtered to the Bagre deity. The meal over, they are free at last to go back to their own houses, though not yet to sleep with their husbands or wives. This they can do only after Bagre Bells, which closes the performances for the year.

Meanwhile the senior members go home with the chickens they have gained, which can be used for sacrifices to the ancestors, to the beings of the wild, or to the guardians. But if the bones are swallowed by another fowl, it too will be for Bagre; 'Bagre things / you can't mix / with things of the hoe' (W. 5490-92).

bar' daa wõ nyũũ na vã vã
bar' daa wõ nyũũ na vã vã

The dog smells an awful smell. 'Here the "dog" is the knife used in shaving the neophytes' hair the day before. The smell refers to the dirty hair which they had been carrying for the past 6 weeks or more. The shaving of the hair takes away evil and sin from the neophytes.'

Bagre Gifts (Bo tuor)

The pattern of reciprocal relationship between clan sectors and lineages is very complex in all the ceremonial activity of the LoDagaa. In my earlier account of the funerals (1962) I tried to elucidate part of the total network that joins neighbouring groups. Similar networks are found throughout the Bagre. Directly Maale had finished the Bagre Dance on 2 and 3 January, their closest lineage in the clan sector (Ngmanbili Gorpua) started to brew beer for Bagre Gifts (*Bo tuor*) in each of their compounds. *Tuor* here means 'load'; *fu tuo be na*, 'you give them gifts', 'dash them' in West African English. People from all over the settlement trooped along to make small presents of money (cowries) and were given beer to drink in return. When the visitor's clan perform Bagre, the present recipients will go to greet them in the same way and increase the sum that has already been given. This escalating reciprocity ensures a wide participation, over time as well as space, in the performances of any one group.

On such visits a person has to pay special attention to female kin who have married there. On one occasion I visited the house where the sister of my assistant's father had married. No sooner had we sat down to drink than she directed a torrent of abuse at him because no one from her natal home, four hundred yards away, had come to visit her and when her nephew did appear, he came empty-handed. This was no playful abuse; the woman was very serious and my assistant most upset; she relented only when others tried to calm the situation down and when he promised to send something to her later on. It was not the monetary exchange that mattered as much as the respect, the recognition of a relationship, that such a gift implied; and such a recognition is particularly important for a woman who has married away.

This gift-giving is essentially an extension of the prestations that take place at the Bagre Dance itself, when the neophytes are sitting outside the Bagre house dressed in their finery. There is a long-term reciprocity about all these gifts, which build up during the lifetime of the individuals involved. On this whole process my collaborator, K. Gandaa, offered the following comments:

This ceremony resembles Christmas. But the reciprocity at Christmas differs from that at Bagre Gifts in that it is not automatic. If Naayili have Bagre, then every person in Naayili will expect gifts from people

in the other sectors who are either friends, in-laws or relatives. These gifts range from sixpence to several pounds, from fowls to cows and from food to clothes. It depends upon the giver's wealth and upon the number of persons to whom he intends to give presents.

It should be emphasized that Bagre gifts accumulate with interest. If I have received a gift of five shillings from a relation or friend, he will expect more than this from me when his Bagre comes round. I may double the amount to ten shillings. My brother Tisep's senior sister from Naayili, who was married to the headman of Baaperi, Fainye, looked upon me as her favourite brother. When we first had Bagre she gave me two shillings. Although I was still in school I increased the amount until, by the end of 1951, she had received one pound from me as her Bagre gift.

The Bagre gifts begin on Bagre Day and continue until the last ceremony is done. Those who were unable to give their friends and relatives gifts during the Bagre Dance can do so during Bagre Bells. On each occasion the recipient of the gifts gives his benefactor a pot of beer as well as food.

In the present instance, however, the gift-giving is a lineage not an individual affair. Individuals give to individual neophytes at the Bagre Dance. But on this occasion it is an adjacent lineage that is the recipient of the gifts and that brews beer to give the givers. As in so many ceremonies, whether funerals, Bagre, or other occasions, the network of reciprocal gifts and services is extended to include lineages not directly concerned. A group performs only some of the tasks involved in the funeral of one of its members; in fact, they never bury their own dead. Neither do they recite for their own Bagre, nor receive all the gifts involved. There is often the equivalent of an incest taboo on 'doing it oneself', or 'going it alone'; the *bricoleur* cannot work only for himself. In this way other segments of the community are involved in an almost deliberate way. Such phraseology stands in danger of confusing manifest with latent function, but the idea of a local community consisting only of one clan or lineage is at odds with the ideas and practice of the LoDagaa. A typical clan history, for example, tells how the ancestor of the local lineage arrived in a certain area and found it satisfactory. Then he called for his joking partners (from another clan) to come and join him, so that they could help each other and 'make hot things cool'. The gift-giving of the Bagre society, like many other facets of the ceremonies, emphasizes this same theme.

Bagre Bells (Bo gbelme)

The final ceremony of Bagre is the one where the neophytes, now fully fledged members of the association, are formally brought back into the community once again. It occurs a week or so after the Bagre Dance and is so called because at this time the bells they have been given are ritually washed. All the remaining fowls donated during the course of the series of ceremonies are sacrificed to the Bagre deity. The entire White Bagre is recited three times and the initiates have their hair trimmed round in a circle, not shaved off completely but not yet worn quite normally.

In Maale, Bagre Bells took place ten days after the End of the Dance. But three days before that, sacrifices had again to be made to the Bagre deity, at the time the malt was collected. Although I did not attend this ceremony I met a contingent returning from Maale: a man from Tanziiri, who had taken guinea corn to the Bagre house, brought back a basketful of dead fowls which had been slaughtered on the shrine. These they were now going to distribute to their lineage members. The day following the collecting or measuring of the malt (*kɛɛ wuʉr*, or *kɛɛ lɔm*), the women began to brew the beer.

The whole morning of the ceremony of Bagre Bells itself is taken up with washing the bells in a small pot of beer (W. 5593). This is done with a fibre called *bir* and some special medicine. The latter is then put in the baskets which the neophytes have used for so many purposes and thrown away on a midden. Before the washing takes place they are once again questioned about whether they have broken any of the taboos, and specifically whether they have had sexual intercourse. When they have confessed or denied this, they drink their customary small pot of beer and come outside to have their heads shaved again by the guides. They return for more recitation and later emerge for an evening meal and a short dance. Taking more of the small pots of beer, they go back to the room where they continue to be instructed for the rest of the night.

As after the previous ceremony, the neophytes are told about the further stage of advancement, namely, the Black Bagre, and they are encouraged to learn the present recitation and its associated procedures. They are also given a chance of asking questions about Bagre matters and a number of these are posed and answered in



8. The Bagre members search for the bells at the foot of the baobab tree that is associated with the guardian spirit of the clan (Birifu, 1970)



9. The neophytes are finally led around the market place, dressed up in their finery (Birifu, 1970)

the myth itself. These have to do with the conquest of death (W. 5610), with procedures (W. 5671), with the consequences of breaking the taboos (W. 5744), with precedence (W. 5775), with the cause of deaths that follow Bagre (W. 5827), with conjugal quarrels (W. 5843), with thefts (W. 5877), with hate (W. 5900) and love (W. 5909), with the order of the ceremonies (W. 5929), with rituals of pregnancy (W. 5953), with the recitation itself (W. 5971), and with the relationship between God, man, the beings of the wild, and the Bagre (W. 6008).

Bagre Bells is followed by another hunt of the same kind that took place after the Beating of the Malt. Wild animals are again divided into those given to Bagre and those given to the house; the text gives three of each on this occasion (W. 5719 ff.), namely:

<i>House</i>	<i>Bagre</i>
boar	partridge
grass-cutter	rabbit ‡
porcupine	antelope (<i>wala</i>)

As compared with the previous list (W. 3439-63), the guinea fowl and squirrel are missing, a fact that is as likely to be by accident as by design.

It is a week later, but essentially part of the same ceremony, when the new members are dressed up in gay clothes, faces powdered, a knife or sword in the right hand, and are led off to the local market. Essentially this final rite, which winds up Bagre for the year, is an act of aggregation, bringing the neophytes back into the life of the community and displaying them to all and sundry in the most public of places. Those who have been withdrawn from society, painted as corpses, made silent as the dead, killed by poison, and then revived with the help of the Bagre are now brought fully back into social life.

Although it is not strictly part of the Bagre sequence, it is customary for houses that have put new members into the association to brew beer as a thanksgiving to the household shrines. This ceremony is known by the generic term of *Bon paal dāā*, since 'first fruits' will be offered to the various supernatural agencies, to the Earth (*tengaan*), the River (*man*), the Hill (*tong*), the beings of the wild (*kəntəmɔ*), and to the various medicine shrines (*tiib*). Now that the neophytes have successfully emerged through the

ceremonial sequence, other supernatural agencies are thanked for their help in looking after crops and people.

The Second Grade (gan dāã), The Beer of the Leather Bottle

There is one further ceremony to which I need to refer, although it is not part of the present sequence. It is the ceremony that inducts initiates into the ranks of the second-graders and makes them senior members. The senior rank is for men only, although in Tom (LD.) I heard of a diviner having prescribed the Black Bagre for a woman client and she was duly admitted. But she was certainly past the menopause.

This grade is known as Black Bagre (*Bo sɔla*) or else as 'taking the Bagre container' (*Bo gan*); at this time the neophyte receives the leather bottle holding a number of marked cowries; this container is specifically for divination, though only in special circumstances, such the death of a member. But its possession is often used to distinguish the second grade. The ceremony itself is sometimes known as *gan dāã*, Beer of the Leather Bottle; the process of acquisition is described as *de gan*, to take the *gan*, and the recitation of the Black Bagre is known as *gan ngmeb*, literally, 'hitting the *gan*'.

The initiation into the second grade is a much shorter and less public affair than the White Bagre. It takes place in the dry season, about March or April, after the White Bagre Ceremonies are all over and when the dawadawa has begun to flower. Those who are about to be promoted go round to all the houses of the village as well as to kin and friends outside, saying

Come tomorrow and measure the malt,
ka yi bio wa de kɛɛ ɪng

the beer of the Bagre bottle will be brewed the day after
tomorrow.

bɔ gan dāã duura dayere.

I have never myself attended one of these ceremonies but in one I knew of, some twenty people took part, all from the same clan section. Beer is brewed and chickens are sacrificed at the usual places, to the Earth, to the ancestors, and to the Bagre deity.

The ceremony begins in the evening when people have returned from the farm and continues the whole night long; during this time they hear the Black Bagre, repeat it, and recite it. Three

weeks before the beer is brewed, the section concerned recite the Black Bagre in the open, on the rooftop of the Bagre house. This is a kind of practice session, which even non-initiates may apparently hear.

At the ceremony itself a great deal of beer is drunk during the course of the night and in the morning members are given the *gan* in which their marked cowries are kept. The bottle should be carried everywhere an initiate goes. Teachers I knew carried them to training colleges and the late Chief of Lawra had a special bag made which he could put under his smock and so carry his gear to all official meetings. When you are a senior member and have the Bagre medicine, you should not really travel at all and Lawra people, who are stricter about this, say that if you go south to Kumasi, either as a labour migrant or in some other capacity, you should never stay there longer than a month. Indeed it was also said that the chief of Lawra had deliberately made his sons into senior members so that they would stay with him and not go off to work in the south.

Great emphasis is placed on retaining the bottle and if it is lost the whole settlement is searched. If the container cannot be found, then the owner should in theory be initiated all over again; it is possession of the accoutrements that proclaim one a member.

The bottle is kept in another piece of equipment given to senior members at this same time, that is in the special shoulder-bag known as *bag kyur*. This bag is specifically linked with the kind of formal divination that Bagre members carry out, and second-graders are often known either as *bo kyurdem*, owners of the bag, or as *gandem*, owners of the leather bottle. Such divination by the senior members is done at the foot of the funeral-stand of a fellow member, on each of the three days before burial takes place. After the burial the Bagre joking-partners take away the dead man's medicine (*kyüli tii*) and bury it in an anthill so it will be destroyed: a man's personal medicines are usually thrown away. Here the burial is accompanied by an offering; three fowls are killed and divided amongst the second-graders present (2473). For an important member, an animal such as a goat may be killed, the head, skin, and hind leg going to the senior of the second-graders present, the man who has been in charge of the divining sessions (2476).

Bagre medicine, usually obtained at the special ceremony held

after the Bagre of Beans, can also be acquired at the Beer of the Leather Bottle, and this is sometimes done in order to save time. This medicine, which is kept in a long-necked gourd hanging from the rafters of the byre, can be obtained only by a household head who needs it before he can sponsor any children for Bagre.

Although the Bagre gear is used to divine at the foot of the funeral-stand of any senior member who may die, Bagre is not, as Labouret thought, a 'fraternity of soothsayers'. Diviners use a small gourd, cowries, and a bell to communicate with the beings of the wild. But they are inducted in quite a different fashion. The overlapping is part of the proliferation of ritual thought and expression that Nadel noted as characteristic of the Nupe of Northern Nigeria. Among the LoDagaa too the magico-religious sphere is marked by a process of continuous creation that leads to polysemic ritual acts, to changing rites and to overlapping functions. Indeed more than other modes of social activity, ritual needs constantly to be reinforced against failure, against unbelief and disappointment. Promises of eternal life, hopes for the conquest of death, tend to lose their initial impact and despite the continual willingness of man to suspend his disbelief, the impulse is to look for other gods; for alternative solutions are ever-present, especially in those religions that are not tied by the written word to a static holy order. It is this theme of searching for the way that dominates the greater part of the myth connected with the second grade, namely, the Black Bagre. It is this myth, together with its counterpart, the White Bagre, that I present in the rest of this volume. The notes attempt to explicate points that have caused me some difficulty and those that are likely to be obscure to the reader. But I have tried to avoid over-frequent, over-obvious, and over-abstract comments on vocabulary, metaphor, and symbol, since these tend to detract from one's understanding by interrupting the flow of the original.

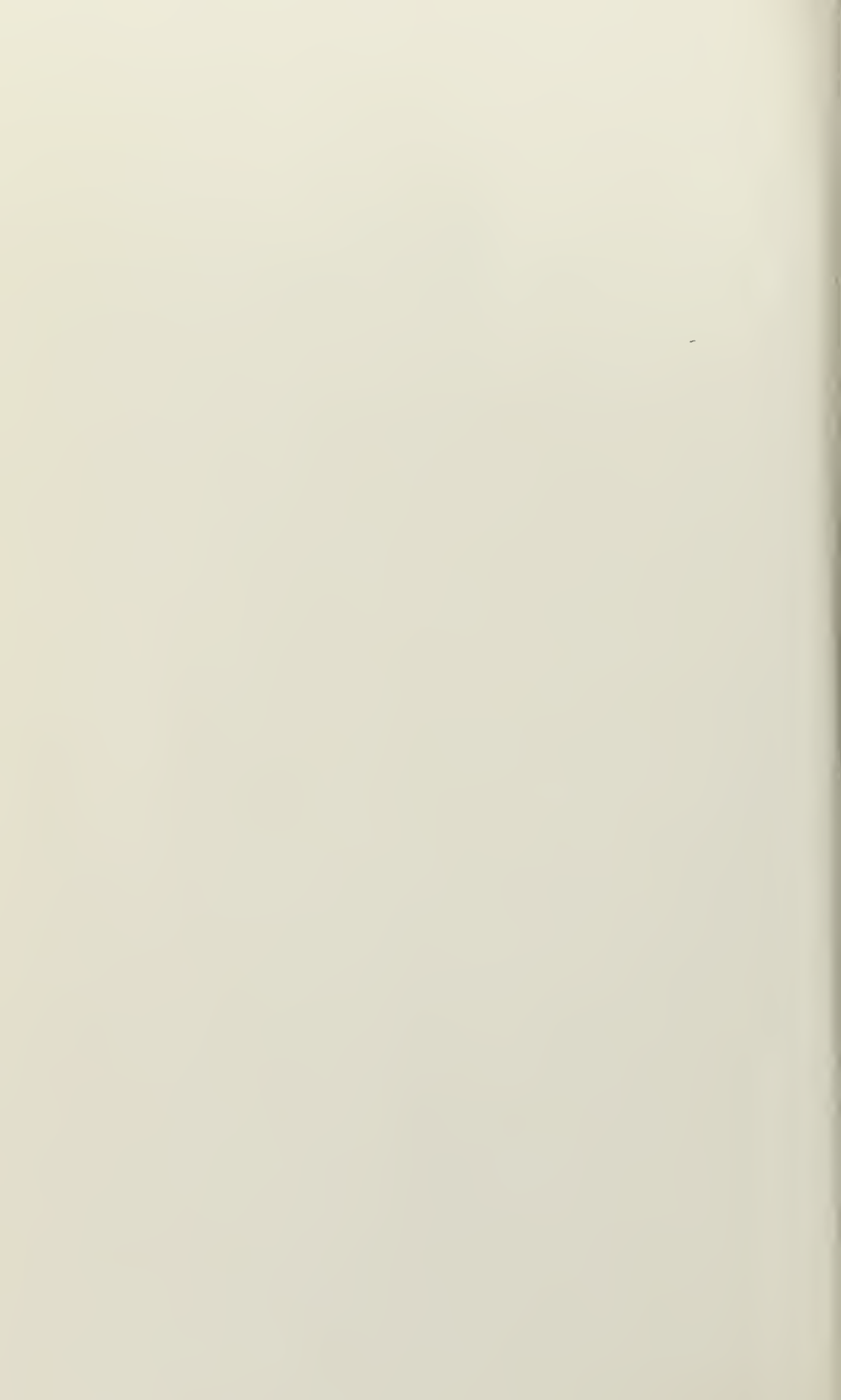
BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ACHEBE, C., *Things Fall Apart*, London, 1958.
- BALFOUR, H., 'Ritual and secular uses of vibrating membranes as voice-disguisers', *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 78, 45-69, 1948.
- BINGER, L. G., *Du Niger au golfe de Guinée*, Paris, 1892.
- FINLEY, M. I., *The World of Odysseus*, New York, 1954.
- FORTES, M., *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, London, 1945.
- *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi*, London, 1949.
- FORTIER, J., *Le Mythe et les contes de Sou en pays Mbaï-Moïssala*, Paris, 1967.
- GIRAULT, R. P., 'Essai sur la religion des Dagara', *Bull. IFAN*, 21, 329-56, 1959.
- GOODY, J. R., *The Social Organisation of the LoWiili*, London, 1956.
- *Death, Property and the Ancestors*, Stanford and London, 1962.
- *Comparative Studies in Kinship*, Stanford and London, 1969.
- GRIAULE, M., *Conversations with Ogotemmêli* (Fr. ed., 1948), London, 1965.
- HOLAS, B., *Les Masques Kono*, Paris, 1952.
- LABOURET, H., *Les Tribus du rameau Lobi*, Paris, 1931.
- LEIRIS, M., *La Langue secrète des Dogons de Sanga*, Paris, 1948.
- MEILLASSOUX, C., DOUCOURÉ, L., and SIMAGHA, D., *Légende de la dispersion des Kusa* (Epopée soninké), Dakar, 1967.
- RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. R., *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge, 1922.
- RATTRAY, R. S., *Religion and Art in Ashanti*, London, 1927.
- STITH-THOMPSON, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (rev. ed.), Copenhagen, 1956.
- TAIT, D., *The Konkomba of Northern Ghana*, London, 1961.
- ZAHAN, D., *Sociétés d'initiation bambara*, Paris, 1960.



PART TWO

THE BAGRE MYTH



THE WHITE BAGRE

TRANSLATION

Gods,
ancestors,
guardians,
beings of the wild,
the leather bottles
say we should perform,
because of the scorpion's sting,
because of suicide,
aches in the belly,
pains in the head. 10
The elder brother
slept badly.

He took out some guinea corn
and hurried along
to the diviner
who poured out his bag
and then said,
let's grasp the stick.

They did so
and he picked up 'deity' 20
and he picked up 'the wild'
and he picked up 'sacrifice'.

He picked up 'deity',
that was what
he picked up first.

He picked out 'deity'
and began to ask,
What 'deity'?

Deity of childbirth?

Deity of farming? 30

Deity of daughters?

Deity of grandfathers?

Deity of grandmothers?

Deity of the bowstring?

Deity of chicken breeding?
You reject them all.
Deity of meetings?
The cowries fell favourably:
it was so.

The elder 40
began to think,
got up quietly
and hurried off
to his father's house.

He called his children
to come,

and they came there
thinking to themselves
it was a call to eat.

They ran there, 50
met together

and the elder
got up and went out
to stand on a pile of earth.

Taking some ashes
and cold water,
he began to spurt it out,
spurted it over the children
saying,

'I spurt it over you. 60

If you see
shea fruit,
don't eat them.

If you see
new crops,
don't eat them.'

He told the children
they could go down.

When they got home
 the elder
 lay down to sleep
 but tried in vain.
 So he got up
 and went again
 to the diviner's house
 to pour out the bag
 and he asked him
 about his fear.
 'What sort of fear is it?'
 'It is not fear.
 Last night
 when I lay down,
 I didn't sleep.
 That is why
 I got up and came here,
 came to ask
 if you know
 whether you can help me
 in this matter.'
 So he spoke
 and went home.
 He went back
 and reached his house,
 and as he got there,
 see the children
 who have gathered around.
 In the evening
 they came together
 and he told them
 he had been
 to inquire
 at the diviner's
 and was told
 it was the deity
 that has come
 from the front,
 that is pointing
 with the right hand,

that has come
 to stay here,
 that has come
 bringing childbirth,
 that has come
 bringing good hunting.
 He has not come to return.
 So he spoke
 and paused.
 'And yet
 you children
 don't want to farm,
 don't want to raise chickens.
 You don't want
 to possess
 the truth.
 And yet
 the problems
 are beyond us,
 we, the initiates.
 The first men
 searched in vain
 and they went
 and deceived us,
 we, the living ones.
 They went away
 and they should have
 taken it [the Bagre] along
 to the land of the dead.
 But they left it
 for us
 and we search in vain.'
 And so it was
 that he took cold water
 and took ashes
 and said,
 'It is good health
 that I want.'
 He spat out the water
 so it spurted over them.

And he told them
to come
in the evening.
'For when he comes
back to this place,
he comes
with food.
He does not come empty-
handed.
He points
with the right hand,
never with the left.
He comes
with the truth
and does not bring
falsehood;
so that our Bagre
will flourish.
However,
all power
lies with
the rain god.
The soil
is parched.
We cannot see
its fruits.
However,
the earth
is now pregnant.
How is she pregnant?
She is pregnant
because
the hot season
is here.
That is why
we know
the rains are near.
And if
the god
is a true god,

150 he will look after us
so we will get
the fruits of our farming.' 190
'How will we get them?'
'The rain god
will beget
and leafy things
come forth.
We will take these
to perform our rites.
This it is
that lies ahead of us.'
160 He spoke in this way 200
and stopped.
And then
he did something else,
came back again
and continued the ceremony.
The earth gave birth;
leafy things
burst out.
The old woman,
170 a thoughtful person, 210
gathered some bean leaves,
plucked them off their stems
and began to cook them.
She began to eat,
and the children
saw her
and wanted to eat.
She told them,
'Your father
180 will say something. 220
How can you
eat bean leaves?'
The children's father
came along
and when he got there,
she took something
and put it on the ground.

'What sort of thing?'
 It was some food
 he wanted to eat. 230
 He raised his hand,
 he raised it,
 picked up some porridge,
 dipped it in relish
 and began to eat.
 Then he saw the leaves.
 'What leaves are they?'
 'They're bean leaves.'
 He asked
 who cooked 240
 that kind of soup.
 So he spoke
 and when he'd done so,
 he stood up
 and left the porridge
 and the relish.
 He went out,
 climbed on to the roof
 and called the children.
 They came there 250
 and he told them
 to go out
 and run round
 to tell people
 that the Black initiates
 should come
 the day after tomorrow
 and take
 these bean leaves
 and do their work. 260
 They went round
 to tell the initiates
 and when they had done so
 they went off
 to their father's farm.
 The wise old woman
 plucked some bean leaves.

When she had done so
 she began to cook them,
 and when she had finished, 270
 she put down the pot.
 They came there,
 and when they had done so,
 the old man
 told them
 to look at
 the bean leaves.
 As he said,
 they forbade
 these things, 280
 but today
 you see
 bean leaves
 in the soup.
 Don't you see
 the initiates
 sitting close together?
 Don't you see
 guinea corn
 which is now porridge? 290
 Don't you see
 malted grain
 which is now beer?
 They came there,
 saw the food
 and ate the lot,
 these greedy people.
 When they had finished
 they made a noise
 and the elder 300
 told them
 to stop.
 They did so
 and he asked them
 to draw together.
 They drew together
 and when they came

he took		that sits on our shoulders.	
a stone		About those matters	
and sat there.	310	that remain,	350
The Earth priest		he will come	
then said,		and tell us	
'The Earth shrine		that he does not come	
and the guardian		to do us harm,	
and the deity,		but speaks so as [to bring]	
they told us		a peaceful house.'	
to perform Bagre		'Then we told the children	
and therefore		we had finished	
we must take thought		and turned homewards	
and begin to do so.	320	to the father's house.	360
Don't you see		And when we reach there,	
it's the tail		what is it	
we grasp?		that remains?	
That's what		The yams	
we hold		they also	
and beg		belong to our Bagre.	
for those growing things		However,	
which have not yet		they are not yet full-grown,	
grown ripe.		so we must wait.	
Give us help	330	We wait,	370
so they will come.		and one day	
That is why		the children's father	
we are here.'		went to the bush	
And he spoke		to farm.	
and paused		He went there	
and spoke again		and came	
so they might know		back later.	
about the performance.		When he arrived,	
They know that		see the wise old woman	
what is done	340	goes over	380
is but little.		to his in-laws' house	
'We will bury		and finds	
the matter		a yam,	
that troubles us.		digs it up	
It seizes hold of us,		and returns	
so that we beg		to the father's house.	
a head		She cooks it,	

lifts it off the fire,
 puts it down
 and starts to eat.
 Do you see
 the children?
 They see it
 and cry out.
 They cry out,
 cry in vain,
 for she tells them
 they must wait
 till their father comes
 and meanwhile keep quiet. 400
 They keep quiet,
 and when he came
 she took the yam
 to give their father
 and told him
 that his in-laws
 had sent him the yam.
 And he replies, 'Well,
 on account of this,
 the children
 nearly sinned.'
 And he went up
 and told the children
 to go round
 and inform
 the initiates
 that tomorrow,
 they should come
 and perform
 the Ceremony of the Bean
 Flower. 420
 They came there
 two days later.
 They came there
 and sat quietly.
 See the beer,
 see the porridge,

see the yams,
 see the beans
 made into soup. 390
 See the meat 430
 they put in bowls,
 and they say
 that if a neophyte
 can eat like a bull,
 let him do so.
 They spoke to
 the White initiates
 with their greedy big mouths,
 and they got up
 and poured the first beer. 440
 The top of the beer
 they poured and drank,
 saying, 'The Speaker, he drinks
 beer.'
 And they say:
 'About the beer from on top,
 I said to them,
 drink, I have drunk.
 So I say.' 410
 They finished speaking.
 Do you see the food? 450
 They were eating
 and when they had done so,
 the White initiates,
 those hawks,
 they also finished.
 They are so pleased
 they start to make a din
 and the elder
 tells them 420
 to shut up, 460
 for they have gorged themselves.
 They reply that
 there is still more food.
 He told them
 to draw together

and when they did so		and tells them	
he told them		to go and return.	
about the matter		In the evening	
that troubles us.		they should come back.	
'This our land	470	'And when you come	
became pregnant		you should come from	
but has not given birth,		the front	510
so today		and not from behind.	
the yams		And you should point	
we dig out		with the right hand,	
are not full-grown		never with the left.	
and look like		You should come	
the heart of a cow.		with food,	
You see,		never come empty-handed.	
we dig out a yam	480	Do all this,	
and cook it on the fire.'		so that the produce	
When these are cooked,		that has not yet	520
he tells them		ripened	
to look		may grow well,	
at the matters		and we can then bring it along	
that remain.		and show it	
They came to say		to the children.	
that we should tell		For we want them	
the children		to sit [together]	
and then sat down again.	490	so we can bury	
He takes some cold water		the matter	
and some ashes		that troubles us.	530
and prays.		Take hold of it	
He calls		and follow its path;	
upon God,		for we still	
upon the Earth shrine,		beg for a chance	
upon the guardians,		to find a head	
upon the deities,		that sits on our shoulders.'	
who all say we should perform		So we spoke,	
Bagre.		and when we had finished,	
That is why	500	the White initiates,	
we go out today		those hawks,	540
to take away the evil		came out	
so you can get what we need.		and made a din.	
He gets up		They went off,	

went off		and said to him,	
and left us		'What is it?	
sitting there.		Let's eat it.'	
And they asked,		He replied,	
'What lies ahead?'		'Why was it	
They finished speaking		that yesterday	
and a thoughtful person	550	I asked you	
then replied		to lie with me	590
that 'What		and you refused me?	
lies ahead,		And now look at today.'	
that which		The two guinea fowl	
remains,		were struggling	
we call it		and found themselves	
the Ceremony of the Bean		in front of the elder.	
Flower.		He saw the white flower	
This we hold on to		and, taking a stick,	
and follow		hurled it,	
until we reach this point.'	560	crying, 'Oh,	600
One day		my bag	
the elder		has a hole in it.	
went to sleep		My shell money	
and put down his skin bag.		has dropped out	
The elder		and the guinea fowl	
was a fool		is eating it.'	
to go off to sleep.		He threw [the stick],	
An old guinea cock		picked it up,	
and his mate		and as he did so,	
last night	570	he realized	610
fought together.		it was a bean flower.	
He wanted to sleep with her		He exclaimed, 'Well,	
and she refused him.		this is just the way	
He got up		our children	
the next morning,		might have sinned.'	
walked around		The children	
among the guinea corn leaves		returned from the farm	
and saw		and when they came,	
a bean flower		he told them	
which he picked.	580	they must run	620
And his mate		round about	
hurried along		and tell	

the Black initiates
 and the White initiates.
 When those hawks
 hear the din,
 [they'll come here].
 So he spoke
 to the children,
 and they went out
 and ran round
 to announce that
 the day after tomorrow
 [they should come for the
 Beans].
 They arrived there
 and when they had come,
 what did they do?
 They asked
 if it was about food.
 And he replied
 'Ah well,
 it is in order
 the fire
 shouldn't blaze up.
 We must release
 the children
 from their fast.
 That's why
 I've called you
 to come
 and perform
 the Ceremony of the Bean
 Flower
 and give [to the gods].
 Don't you understand?'
 And they replied, Well,
 they'd thought
 it was about food.
 They finished speaking.
 See the bean flower.
 They perform their rites

and when these are done
 they say,
 'You see the guinea corn
 turned to porridge,
 you see the malted grain
 turned to beer,
 you see the beans
 630 made into soup.'
 And they told them
 to repeat their words. 670
 'Which words?'
 They had thought
 it was only about food.
 And he replied that
 the god
 who came for us
 said that
 he has come
 640 to eat.
 He's not come to return. 680
 'Because of this
 I want you
 to repeat the words.'
 So they said:
 'Gods,
 guardians,
 deities,
 beings of the wild,
 650 ancestors,
 say we should perform. 690
 Because of this
 scorpions sting
 and suicides happen.
 Because of this
 we've struggled
 for many days
 to remove the evil.
 Now we come to today.
 Won't we perform the Beans?
 660 The beans 700

have turned
to soup,
the guinea corn
to porridge,
and the malted grain
to beer.

However

we say
to you, god,
this isn't much.

Since it is
the old path
we follow,
help us
so we can hold on to it
and follow it
and beg
a head
that sits on our shoulders.'

They finished speaking, 720
but the rites of the room remain.

The White initiates
finished eating
and made a din.

One of the elders
told them
to stop their noise.

They became quiet
and he said,

'The problem 730
that troubles us,
we are unable to solve;
uncertain as the milk
of a pregnant cow,
we must act
on our own
and come together
to know what
lies ahead of us.'

And the elder 740

asked,

'What is it
that remains
ahead of us?'

And they said,
the thing that remains,
they thought,
was that we'd turn back
and perform

[a certain] ceremony. 750

'What is that?'

'The Bagre matter,
that is
the Announcement of Bagre.
Because of this
we will turn back
and find out
about the Announcement of
Bagre.'

Some of them
cried out, 760
'Oh!

How is it
that you first
carried on
without finding out
and now you turn back again
to get to this point?'

'This time
we turn
back again 770
to find out
the right way.'

And a certain man
said [to them],

'A great matter
this is,
so we'll search around
to know the reason.'

So they began again,

and said,	780	A large fruit-bat,	
'About the Announcement of		which is	
Bagre,		one of our Bagre	820
we did this before		elders.	
and now come		He and his mate,	
to the shea fruit		when darkness fell,	
and the shea nut.		played together.	
Yet they say		He wants the female	
the time is not ripe.'		but his mate	
So they said		refuses him.	
'We'll perform		So he gets up	
the ceremony of the shea		in the dark	
nuts	790	and goes	830
and then we'll go on		to the top of a shea tree	
in the proper order.'		where he seizes a fruit.	
'But if the season hasn't come,		He eats some	
how will we		and then	
get hold of		puts it in his mouth	
the shea nut?'		and comes down	
We told		to his mate.	
the children		When he gets there,	
they should not		she sees it	
partake	800	and asks him	840
of new crops.		to give it her.	
It was a shea fruit		He refuses	
we told them		saying,	
to bring back		'Why was it	
and eat.		that on our mat	
The weather is cool,		I begged in vain	
and the good farmer,		and you refused me,	
the good poultry breeder,		then you see some food	
took his quiver		and want it?'	
and his bow	810	The fruit-bat's mate	850
and his hoe		said to him	
and his axe.		'Give me yours	
He reached		and I'll give you mine.'	
the farm		And the male	
and when he began to hoe,		got angry:	
he noticed some creatures.		'I won't give you.'	
What were they?		So he,	

our Bagre elder,		the noise of chicks.	
ate it		He told people	
and left the nut	860	to call his son	900
which he threw away.		and they did so,	
He threw it away,		but with no success.	
and the farmer		So he got up,	
finished farming		took some water	
and he took his hoe		and some guinea corn	
to go into the bush		and went over	
for white ants.		to where the chicks were.	
He began to dig		He sat quietly	
but with no success.		and began to feed them.	
So he went to the foot	870	He did so	910
of a tree,		and when he had finished	
where he suddenly saw		he took part of the mound	
another mound.		and broke it in fragments.	
He dug there		When he had done so,	
and when he had done so,		he took	
suddenly he saw the nut		another piece	
that our Bagre elder		and broke it.	
had left behind.		When he had done so,	
He took it,		there remained the loose earth.	
came to his house,	880	He said	920
and when he got there,		he would pour it out.	
the elder,		He did so	
Napolo,		and stirred it with his hand	
was asleep.		and saw the shea nut.	
His son came		And he cried out,	
with the white ants.		'Oh, oh,	
Then thirst		the fire blazes up.	
seized him		If we don't act,	
and he took his bag,		the children will sin.'	
took a hundred cowries,	890	And so	930
put them in his bag		he picked it up	
and went off		and put it in his bag.	
to drink at his lover's house.		The old woman's children	
The elder,		came along	
Napolo,		and took it	
was sleeping		and gave it	
when he heard		to a clever woman.	

She took it		[the time for] its malted grain	
and knew what to do.		was tomorrow.	
She cooked it	940	They went around	980
for three days		and when the second day	
and when it was hot		arrived	
she put it inside		they took the malted grain,	
a big cooking pot.		together with a basket,	
When she had done so,		and brought them up	
she went out and told		to the big rooftop	
the elder		where they put them down.	
and he said		And they said	
she should keep it.		they should put their hand in	
If he cannot	950	and see if it was full.	990
continue,		They asked again,	
she should sell it		saying,	
to pay for farm help.		'What becomes malted grain?'	
She put it down		And they replied,	
and he said		'Guinea eorn becomes malted	
no one		grain.'	
should speak		'What do they do to guinea corn	
about this		to make it become malted grain?'	
to the children.		And they replied,	
So they said nothing.	960	'The loose grains	
And the son,		they sweep up	1000
when darkness fell,		and give to a clever woman	
came away		who does her work;	
from his lover's house		and when she has finished,	
and reached home.		she takes a ealabash,	
He was told		winnows the grain,	
to go round		and God's breeze	
and inform		blows what's bad	
both the Black initiates		away to the woods,	
and the White initiates.	970	leaving what's good.	
When those hawks		The wise old woman	1010
hear a din,		goes and takes	
they'll come along.		a brewing pot	
They went out		and fills it	
and walked round,		with water.	
saying,		Three days later	
the Announcement of Bagre,		she cuts some grass	

and climbs up		to get dry.	
to the roof		She lays it out	
and then descends		and God's breeze	
to the front yard	1020	blows upon it	
and sieves [the grain].		so it dries.	1060
When she has finished		She takes the grain,	
she climbs up		comes down	
to the roof,		and shows it to me.	
empties it there		[I said that]	
and spreads it out.		she should take it	
When she has done so,		and put it aside,	
she takes the grass		and if I am unable	
to cover it over.		to perform the Bagre,	
When she has done so,	1030	I'll use it for farm help.	
she takes a mat		And so it happened	1070
and covers the lot.		that she put it aside	
Then she sprinkles some water		until the fire	
and in three days		blazed up again.	
she removes the mats		Then I called	
and when she has done so,		and asked you	
she takes her left hand		to look at the grain.	
and plunges it in to see.		You looked	
She does so		and told me	
and finds the grain	1040	that you understood	
sprouting,		what I had said to you.	1080
so she kneads it		Look at the neophytes,	
and when she finishes,		they put their hands	
the wise old woman		into the basket,	
thinks what to do.		and measure their malted grain.	
She takes [the grain]		They know how to measure,	
to put in a basket.		and do it with their left hand	
When she has done so		and then with the right.	
she gathers her things		And they told	
and covers it again.		the elder	
She covers over	1050	that there was not enough.	1090
the basket		But because of	
and three days later		the matter	
she uncovers the grain.		that troubles us,	
When she has done so,		we will take it	
she takes it out		to beg a head	

that sits on our shoulders.
When they had measured it
some slender girls
took the malted grain,
climbed down from the
roof, 1100
went outside
and walked round
to people's houses
to grind the grain.
When they had done this,
they hurried along
to their father's house.
What did they do there?
The affairs of God
bring great suffering. 1110
They took some pots
and followed each other
till they came
to the bank of a stream.
They found water,
clear water,
drew some and returned
to their father's house.
They knew their job
and took the grist, 1120
poured on water,
and then took out some
in order to fry it.
When they had done so
they mashed it together,
put it in a large pot
and poured on water.
And when they had done so,
what did they do?
They built up the fire 1130
so it would brew.
When it was done,
they got ready
to scoop it out.

They poured in water,
mixed it all together
and then strained it.
When they had done so,
they took the wort, 1140
they took it,
poured it in a large pot
and then went up
to the roof of the house
to lie down.
Early in the morning,
a featherless cock
was beating his wings,
beating them quickly.
The slender girl
jumped up quickly 1150
came out of her room
and hurried down.
In one large pot
she saw the beer
which she tasted to see
if it was ready,
and found it was.
As the beer was ready,
she got some firewood
and returned quickly. 1160
She took a gourd
and skimmed the liquid,
and when she had done so,
she poured it
in the brewing pots.
When she had done so,
she built up the fire
so that it simmered.
When it did so
she scooped some out, 1170
and when she had done so,
she scooped out the rest,
put it back in the brewing pots
and then built up the fire

so that it simmered.
 Then she scooped it out
 and when she had done so
 she climbed up
 to her father's rooftop
 and lay down to sleep. 1180
 She slept there
 and when the beer was cool
 the wise old woman,
 who knows her job,
 brings some yeast
 and drops it in.
 See how the beer
 begins to ferment.
 The slender girl
 took some pots 1190
 and poured it in.
 The elder
 hurries along,
 takes the drinking gourds
 which he counts for the
 neophytes.
 When he has done so,
 see the initiates
 coming near.
 The slender girls
 carry the beer, 1200
 climb up and go outside.'
 See the malted grain
 that has turned to beer.
 See the guinea corn
 that has turned to porridge.
 See the leaves
 that have turned to soup.
 They came there,
 the greedy ones,
 and started to eat. 1210
 See the elder
 call them to silence
 because of the malted grain.

They became quiet
 and he said,
 'You want food,
 yet what about the seniors
 who sit near you?
 Why is it
 you eat without giving
 them?' 1220
 The senior guides,
 who know their job,
 come forward
 and take their beer,
 the top of the special pot.
 They offer the Speakers
 their beer to drink
 and then these tell them
 they've had their drink.
 So the guides 1230
 go back
 to their beer
 and drink the lot.
 They make a din
 and the elder
 becomes thoughtful
 and tells them to keep quiet,
 then tells them
 to wait awhile.
 They do so 1240
 and he asks them
 if anything's left to be done.
 They waited,
 and he told us
 that something does remain.
 He said that
 Bagre affairs
 bring great suffering.
 We begin it
 and follow its path 1250
 but find nothing.
 Don't let this

be just for fun.
It is not like that,
so they should hold their
tongues.
When they were quiet,
he took some cold water
together with ashes
and went over
to a mound of earth. 1260
He sat quietly
and told them
they must now keep their
promise.
And they asked,
'What promise?'
And he replied
'Bagre affairs
bring great suffering
and we know not what to do.
They sacrificed to the
ancestors, 1270
to the gods,
to the guardians,
to the deities,
to the Earth shrine,
in order to find the things
that remain.'
And they [he] said,
'The gods,
the ancestors,
the guardians, 1280
the deities,
wanted us to perform,
because of the scorpion's sting,
because of suicide,
and we removed the evil
up to this point.
The White initiates
began to argue
with us.

That is why 1290
I tell you
to hold your tongues.
The performing of Bagre
is a serious matter.'
He told the children
they should think
about what he says.
He finished speaking
and his companion
then said, 1300
'We don't rear chickens,
yet the Bagre affair
is an affair of chickens.
What will we do?'
The thoughtful one
replied,
'The fowls they will bring
to give you,
we'll take out 1310
some of them
to give the neophytes.
Some people
are fortunate.
We will pray
and distribute them.'
Don't you see
the elder?
He takes some fowls
and then speaks,
'The gods, 1320
the ancestors,
the guardians,
said we should perform,
because of the scorpion's sting,
because of suicide,
aches in the belly,
pains in the head.
The elder brother
slept badly.

God's breeze		has really produced things	
came there	1410	for the house.'	1450
and the place was fine.		So he got hold	
And the raindrops		of the children	
fell down,		and told them	
down upon		to come there.	
the things		So they came there,	
that had not yet grown.		where the elder was,	
There's guinea corn		thinking	
and beans,		it was about food,	
and bambara beans;		and he said to them,	
these are	1420	'The farming	1460
Bagre things.		we did,	
Don't you see		now we see	
how the rain makes		it's been fruitful.	
everything grow?		Now we know	
One day		that the deity	
the sun		brings the truth.	
beats down		You people,	
upon the guinea corn		in two days' time	
so that it ripened,		run round	
and the ground nuts too	1430	to the Black initiates	1470
were ready,		and to the White ones.	
and the bambara beans		When those hawks	
matured,		hear a din,	
and the beans		they'll come here.'	
swelled with seed.		So they spoke,	
They went		and they went out,	
and harvested		ran round	
and spread it all out		and told everybody,	
so that God's breeze		all the Black initiates.	
blew on it.	1440	When they had done so,	1480
On the third day		then on the third day	
they piled it		they gathered	
in a heap.		on the rooftop.	
The elder		He sent	
laughed out loud		the senior woman	
and said, 'Well,		to fetch a basket.	
this year		She went down	
the hoe		into her room,	

where she used her wits		take long sticks	
and collected the malt.	1490	and beat it	1530
She climbed up		so the grains fall off.	
to the rooftop		They divide them in two,	
and put it down.		and a broken basket	
The elder		they take up	
called the members		on the rooftop	
to gather round.		to winnow the grain.	
Those greedy ones		God's breeze	
began to think		blows the bad	
it was about food.		into the bush,	
They started to laugh	1500	leaving the good.	1540
and came over.		They take it	
He told		and pour on water	
the children		to let it soak.	
that the matter		And they take this	
which has troubled them		and strain it,	
for so long		climb up again	
caused the evil,		on the rooftop	
the scorpion's sting,		to spread it out.	
the suicides,		Then they say	
aches in the belly,	1510	they'll cut some grass.	1550
pains in the head.		They do so	
For this reason		and go back	
we farmed		to the rooftop	
for the fruits of the hoe.		and when they get there	
And God		they cover the grain.	
came to our help		Two days later	
and we had a harvest,		they take it	
but not large enough		and uproot it.	
to deal with		Then they think,	
the matter	1520	and begin to knead.	1560
that troubles us		When they finish,	
and we could not understand.		they said	
And therefore		they would collect it up.	
we take a pile of guinea corn,		They know their job	
split it in two		and once more they take	
and spread it out,		the old basket	
and the women,		and put it in	
who know their job,		so the roots will wither.	

And when they had done this	to come;	
and the sun	as for the White initiates,	
had shone upon it,	when those hawks	1610
they poured it out	hear a din,	
upon the ground.	they will come too.	
They spread it out	They went out,	
and the sun	ran around	
shone upon it	and informed	
and they went up,	the Black initiates.	
collected it	The White initiates	
and returned	thought that	
to the elder,	it was about food,	
who said, 'Very good,	so they too came down	1620
I see it.'	and followed them.	
They should keep it,	The elder	
for the performance	went and called	
is getting near.	his wife	
They did so,	to collect	
and when they had finished,	the malted grain	
they all dispersed.	and climb up	
After they had done so,	to the roof	
the place	and leave it there.	
was quiet.	He said,	1630
'Why was it quiet?'	'The time	
It is the dry season	has come	
that has arrived,	and therefore	
and they spoke, saying,	we say,	
'The time	the malted grain,	
is ripe.	you should take it	
What is left	to measure out	
for us to do	in the proper way.'	
for the Whitening	They take it	
Ceremony?'	and climb up,	1640
So they spoke	carrying a gourd	
and the elder	along with them.	
instructed	They do this	
the children	and dig their hand in.	
to go out	They measure	
and tell	and when they have done so,	
the Black initiates	they fill [the gourd]	

to overflowing, and again they fill it to overflowing; and they fill it yet again and again it overflows. They do this three times and they speak, saying, 'It's not enough. But God troubles us, so we'll take it to beg a head that sits on our shoulders.'	1650	the elders sitting and went over. [These told them] to go round and ask people to come quickly; because of the children who were fasting, they should come quickly. They came and when they got there, they took their beer and wanted to drink. But they said, 'Wait a while,' so they stopped, and the elders collected the fowls. The eldest neophyte, his fowls were eight. And he said, 'The gods, guardians, ancestors, deities, say we should sacrifice, because of the scorpion's sting, because of suicide. The elder one slept badly.'	1690
They finished this and took the grain and gave it to the women. They took it, and when they had done so they went down to the rooms below and used their wits. They ground it, they ground the lot; then they cooked the beer. They cooked the beer and after they finished, two days after, they all came there and saw the malted grain that was beer, saw the guinea corn that was porridge, saw the beans that were soup. They saw	1660		1700
	1670		1710
	1680	So he spoke. Therefore, this fowl, take it and give it to the Earth; take it to give the guardians, together with the ancestors,	1720

so they may eat.		has not yet drunk it,	
If you think		yet you want	
that the Bagre	1730	to drink it first.	
has no problems,		So they spoke	1770
let the first chicken		and they were afraid.	
fall on its back.		They took their beer,	
They take		took the head	
the first fowl,		of the special beer	
cut its throat		and came over	
and it's accepted.		to us, the senior initiates.	
When it's accepted,		We drank a little	
they take another fowl		and left it to them	
to give to the Earth,	1740	so they could drink.	
and it falls favourably.		They proffer drink to the	
They laugh softly		neophytes	1780
and go inside		and when they have done this,	
and choose a fowl		all the guides	
to give to the ancestors,		go in to eat,	
and choose a fowl		eat their fill,	
to give to the guardians,		everyone snatching from each	
and climb up to give to the		other.	
deity,		When they had finished,	
together with the gods.		they made a din	
They all fall favourably.	1750	and the companion	
After the fowls are accepted,		told them	
the guides		to stop a while,	1790
then say,		and they did so.	
'For the fowls,		They thought that	
that's enough;		this business	
it's enough;		was the same	
now to the eating.'		as we had done before.	
The guides		The elders	
start to eat		then told them	
and the elders	1760	that today	
call them		was the Whitening Ceremony	
to stop.		and there was work	1800
When they have done so,		to be done.	
they tell them		And they exclaimed, 'Oh,	
that, as for the special beer,		what kind of work?'	
the elder		They replied that,	

then when they whiten your		'Shall I mark?'	
nose		He asks	
and whiten		three times.	
round your mouth,		And the reply comes,	
you can never be anybody		'Yes, mark.'	
in this Bagre society.'		So I take him	
They ask this	1890	and give him	1930
three times.		to my companion.	
You deny it.		He also asks	
The Bagre sponsors		three times	
ask again		and the reply comes,	
three times.		'Let them mark.'	
You deny it.		So they marked,	
The Bagre guides		and when we had marked	
use their wits.		and had finished doing so	
They take some string		we took our oil	
and the gourd,	1900	and said	1940
put them together		we'll mark round the mouth.	
and take the bag		And he was afraid	
and tie string around it.		and said, 'Oh,	
When they have done so,		why mark my mouth?'	
they use their wits,		And he replied	
take the shea oil		he would mark	
and pound it.		your gossiping mouth,	
Then they take		but that	
some millet husks,		he'll leave	
they take them	1910	your eating mouth.	1950
and drop them		They say this	
into the oil.		and take the oil	
When they have done so,		and then they mark,	
they tell them		mark lines on you,	
to take the string.		the criss-cross lines.	
'You take the string.'		When they have done so,	
And they ask,		they tell you,	
'Neophyte,		'If you should go out	
have you confessed		tomorrow	
everything?'	1920	and sit down	1960
And he declares		and look at	
that he has done so.		your brother,	
And he asks		then if he speaks to you,	

don't answer.

If he laughs at you,
don't laugh.'

When he had spoken
and come to an end,
he says again,

'Today 1970
they have smeared you with oil.

If you have a wife,
don't go near her.

If you are a woman
and have a husband,
don't go near him.

If you are unable
to do this,

speak
and they'll withdraw you. 1980

You've all sworn
that you can do this,
you spoke

and finished,
and they've whitewashed you
and finished.'

When the time came,
the elder
stood up
and called upon 1990
God.

'God,'
he called

three times

and turned

to tell them

that God

has come down to earth
wearing his things,

his heavy attire. 2000

'He came down

and he said

that he came for food

and not to return,

that he points with the right
hand,

never with the left,

that he approaches from the
front,

never from behind.'

And he then said,

'You have heard 2010
that he brings food.

You have seen
the food

that comes.'

The guides

took the bells,

covered the gourds

and tied them together.

And he said,

'That gourd, 2020
if it breaks

your head will split.

Everyone

knows

about this,

that if it breaks

then your head will split.

It's like breaking your own
head.'

So we should grasp it

and hold it 2030

gently.

And the guides

then said,

'When dawn comes

you will go

and beg

guinea corn.

If you are thirsty

and want water,

don't drink 2040

when your guide
 can see you.
 If there is
 a big stream,
 climb down,
 put down your gourd,
 cup your hands,
 scoop up some water
 and drink it.
 If you know
 that the guide
 is approaching you,
 you must get up,
 come away
 and continue on your path.
 However,
 if it happens
 that you want
 to defecate,
 then wait
 till he passes,
 and crouch down.
 When you get up,
 take a short cut
 by crossing
 the fields
 and again go out
 in front of him.
 He will then get up
 and see
 that you're still
 in front.
 If you allow
 anybody at all
 to see you
 drinking water,
 he will cry, "Oh,
 I see a neophyte
 drinking water."
 That isn't good.

And therefore
 we always hide
 when we drink water,
 and hide
 when we eat anything.'
 He spoke,
 having shown them what to do,
 and when he had done so,
 he returned
 to the Bagre performance
 and showed them
 this too.
 When the time
 arrived,
 he got up
 and took
 a broken basket
 and put it
 in front of you
 and said,
 'This is your begging basket.
 Tomorrow, he'll set it down
 for you.
 The people
 who like you
 will bring
 twenty cowries
 to put in
 your basket.
 If there is enough,
 then they'll be able
 to continue
 the Bagre ceremony.'
 He put it down
 and they threw in a lot,
 and when they had done so,
 he took it
 to give to the Bagre elder,
 who took it all
 and collected it together.

He spoke, saying,		they take it,	
when the guinea corn		and say, 'Well,	
is ripe,		the old women's children	
it is this [money]		should take it	
he will use		and thresh it	
to continue		and put it	
the Bagre ceremony.		in a large vat.	
'We take		It's not enough,	
a basket		but I couldn't help it,	
to put in your hand,	2130	and I'll take	2170
so you can go out.		some extra	
When you beg,		to add to it,	
what they give,		so we can continue	
whatever it may be,		the Bagre ceremony.'	
take it.		Thus he spoke	
If it is earth		and when he had done so,	
they scoop up,		they said,	
take it.		well, yes,	
For that is		they understood.	
our Bagre way.	2140	And he took [the corn]	2180
Do you understand?		and kept it	
When you go out		and when	
and beg		this had been done,	
and get		they still went round.	
guinea corn,		One day	
bring it here		the elders,	
and I'll collect it		the thoughtful ones [said]	
and keep it,		they cannot	
so that you can go round		permit you	
and beg some more,	2150	to take	2190
because it's not enough.		your gourd	
But it is God		and walk round.	
that makes him suffer,		So they will take it	
that's why they say		and keep it.	
they'll take it		And they took it	
to beg a head		and kept it.	
that sits on their shoulders.'		Their fellows	
They keep it		said, 'No,	
and when it comes		they cannot	
to the time,	2160	take the gourd	2200

and keep it.'		for guinea corn,	
When they said this,		in the same [way]	
and finished,		go out	
he asked,		and beg	
'What can we do?'		for chickens.'	
He said,		He finished	
'The gourd		speaking.	
is like an egg		'I tell you,	
for us.		if you go out tomorrow,	
We cannot	2210	when you get up,	2250
put it down and leave it.		take along	
We will take it		your younger brother,	
and go round.		a small boy,	
This thing		to follow you	
you told us		as you go round	
to take out;		and beg.	
with it		If you see	
we'll go round.		just a few—'	
And if there is		'A few what?'	
work to be done	2220	And he continued,	2260
with it,		'A few small chickens.'	
we shall do it.'		And they said,	
So he spoke		'And now	
and when he had done so,		you're	
he said to us,		a hawk;	
'The guinea corn		if you're leading the way	
that we collected		and come to a house	
by going round		where no one is about,	
is enough		then take	
to perform this affair.	2230	a fowl.	2270
However,		If you see	
as for the fowls,		someone is around,	
that matter		in that case	
is difficult.'		don't take it	
And he asked,		but rather ask.	
'What shall we do?'		If he should	
And he replied.		give it you,	
'Just as		take it.	
I earlier		If he doesn't	
begged	2240	give it you,	2280

then leave him.
 So I told them.
 When day dawns,
 you get up
 and I give you
 a chicken basket
 and a boy
 to follow you
 around.

You arrive
 at a house,
 you see a fowl,
 you seize it.
 He shouts at you,
 you leave it
 and go home.
 You told them
 and they say
 it is not so.

If you
 should go
 and seize it,
 and they snatch it back,
 don't be angry.

Wait a while
 and ask for it.

If he happens
 to be

a member,
 he can't take it back
 and leave you empty-handed.

If he
 is a non-member
 and takes it,
 leave it
 and go on.

For the fowl
 he took back,
 it cannot
 survive.'

About our ceremony,
 the elders
 told us
 to come closer.

We did so
 and they said, 'Well,
 this thing
 we have begun
 and have come

2290 to the Whitening 2330
 Ceremony.

We want
 (now we've reached there)
 to get

to know

God's
 dwelling-place.'

Then the companion
 rose to his feet

2300 and said 2340
 he believed

that God

is here

on earth,

where we walk.

And one man
 then exclaimed,
 'Oh, no.'

He went on to say

2310 he believed 2350
 that God

is there

in the sky

where we look.

And he said,

'No, no,'

He said again

he believed

that God

2320 is there

in front	2360	Yet today	2400
where he points.		you ask me	
And the other said,		about God's	
'God		dwelling-place.'	
is not there.'		And he replied, 'Well,	
And he said,		I must ask,	
'I believe		because yesterday	
that God		I heard	
is there		you call	
behind me		and shout out	
where I turn.'	2370	and say,	2410
And the other said,		"God,	
'God		I hear you	
is not there.'		when you call."	
And he said,		And you said,	
'God		"God,	
I believe		he hears	
is there		and will descend."	
on my right side.'		That's the reason	
And the other said,		I now want	
'He is not there.'	2380	to discover	2420
And he said,		the place	
'God		from which he comes.	
I believe		However,	
is there		if it is all right,	
on my left side.'		we can	
And the other said,		go on	
'He is not there.'		with whatever	
So he asked him,		remains to be done.'	
'Where then		The companion	
can God	2390	then asked,	2430
be,		'What is it	
he who troubles us		do you think	
and the children		remains to be done?'	
and the women?'		He replied,	
And the companion		'In our Whitening Ceremony,	
said, 'Well,		I think that	
about God,		the part which remains	
we hear his name		for us to do,	
without knowing him.		that is	

the Beating of the Malt.'	2440	'In the Bagre Dance,	2480
And he said,		on the Eve of Bagre,	
'My companion,		what will they do?'	
you know this		They said	
and yet		that they wanted	
you ask me about God.'		the day	
He replied, 'Well,		to come	
about God,		so that they	
you should still		could find someone	
show me		who will teach	
the place	2450	the children	2490
where he is.		what to do.	
'They should pause		And he said that	
to find out		the being of the wild	
about God		had brought some medicine.	
and the place		'The Bagre medicine	
where he is.'		in a gourd,	
'The being of the wild		he set it down	
wanted to tempt them.		and said	
He came		that this medicine,	
and descended,	2460	whenever	2500
declaring		the day comes,	
that he		they should put the medicine	
was God		into water	
in the Bagre house.		for three days,	
He said this		bring it out	
and gave them a lead,		and put it on the fire	
showing them		for three days,	
what to do.		then anything	
For the Bagre,		that is hot,	
which they did not know	2470	it will make cool,	2510
how to perform,		and anything	
he'll teach them		that is cool,	
one way to do it.		it will	
And they said, 'Yes,		make hot.	
he should teach them.'		He said this	
'The being of the wild		and they took it.	
got up		What should they do?	
and stood.		He told them	
He asked		he would teach them	

what to do,	2520	to the woods.	2560
so they can see		He went there	
what it is		and the elders	
that lies inside.		exclaimed, 'Well,	
They took [the medicine],		as you saw,	
put it on the fire,		he performed something	
took it off,		in front of us	
put it in water;		and we took it	
for three days		and this was the result.	
they kept it there.		What can we do	
The tempter being	2530	to put matters straight?' 2570	
came there		The companion	
and said		got up	
they should take		to find out	
the gourd,		the place	
remove some medicine,		the being went.	
put it down,		He got up,	
and stamp on it		ran off	
till it breaks,		to the woods	
take it out,		and looked for	
put it in water,	2540	the place where the being 2580	
and then		was staying.	
use this		He saw him	
to feed		in a room,	
one person;		sitting there,	
then you can see		and he said, 'Look,	
whatever		that business	
is there.		which you performed,	
So they took it,		and showed us how to do,	
stamped on it,		we did it	
broke it,	2550	and death 2590	
and took the pieces,		has struck us.'	
put them in water,		He replied, 'Yes,	
and fed it		all this is so.	
to someone.		But what	
Within three minutes		did I tell you	
he was dead.		would happen?' 2590	
He died		And the man said,	
and the being		'You didn't say.'	
went back		The being	

spoke again.	2600	till he asked them	2640
'Did I not give you		something.	
the medicine?		And he went on to ask,	
You should		if one of them	
have followed		should die,	
what I showed you.		how many days	
I told you		before he rots?	
that hot things		And they replied,	
it would make cool		within three days	
and cool things		he'll rot.	
it would make hot.'	2610	The being of the wild	2650
So he spoke		told them	
and when he had done so,		he wanted to teach them.	
he followed the man		'But you people	
back home		who were to follow me,	
to his father's house.		didn't follow me well.	
He saw the corpse		That is why	
lying there		I didn't show you.	
and told		But this matter,	
the people		it is	
he wanted	2620	in all Bagre	2660
to teach them		the most important.	
the Bagre		It is	
which they perform.		because	
'But look,		of this	
since that man		that the neophytes	
lay there,		are afraid.	
is it a whole week?'		Because	
And they replied,		of this	
'It's not a week.'		the Black initiates	
And he said,	2630	are afraid.	2670
'If it is		Because	
three days		of this	
today		the guides	
since he died,		are afraid.'	
why does his flesh not rot?'		So he spoke	
And they replied		and went over	
that they didn't know.		and placed	
And he said		his mouth	
they should wait		over the ear of the corpse.	

He rolled his tongue	2680	So he spoke	2720
and then said		and when he had done so,	
they should watch.		the elder	
See the dead man		said he thought that	
rising up.		in the Black Bagre	
He stands up		he earlier	
and he says		saw something	
if they want		about arrow poison.	
this medicine,		Perhaps with this	
they should take		they will kill	
exactly twenty cowries	2690	the neophytes.	2730
and a male roan.		He replied, 'No,	
That is how		it is not so.	
they always buy the medicine.		This medicine,	
So he spoke		the medicine in his bag,	
and they brought		this was what	
the antelope		his ancestor	
and exactly twenty cowries		left for him	
to pay the being.		to look after.	
When they had done so,		The cool medicine	
what'll they do next?	2700	was this one.	2740
They went along		The hot medicine	
during the night		was this one.	
to his house		Both these	
and he sat down		are then	
to teach them		the things	
about the medicine.		which are able	
Well, then,		to cause death	
when they were begging		and also	
for God's help,		revive the dead.'	
he heard them.	2710	So he spoke	2750
It is he		and went on to say, well,	
who is God.		if it is	
If anyone		medicine to revive the dead,	
knows his ways,		he has it.	
he will prosper.		If it is	
If anyone		medicine to cause death,	
does not know them,		he has it.	
he cannot		He finished speaking.	
succeed.		And then	

he wanted the medicine	2760	the neophytes	
but it is		and they all lay there.	2800
on Bagre Eve		The elder	
they will brew it.		got up,	
'Being of the wild,		shook his rattle	
you've still got that man.'		and sang a song.	
'Who is that?'		'Death kills,	
'It's the companion		alas, death kills	
that you keep,		and no one questions.'	
leaving us all alone.		They sang three times	
As it is,	2770	and got up again	
you have the companion,		and stopped.	2810
and Bagre Eve		Then they sang,	
cannot be changed,		'They lie scattered about the	
it cannot be		room	
postponed		and no one questions.'	
to a free day.'		They sang three times,	
However,		stopped,	
when Bagre Eve		and then they sang,	
came along,		'Let them bring a hundred	
the being	2780	to pay for the neophytes.'	
allowed his child		They sang three times	
to come		stopped,	2820
to the Bagre house		and then sang,	
and see		'Be careful of the roof post,	
how the neophytes		someone's house has a crooked	
were doing.		post.'	
So he spoke		They sang this three times	
and he came		and said,	
and saw the neophytes		'The Bagre bag	
and how quickly the fire	2790	hits a fowl,	
blazed up.		so it falls on its back, back,	
The small being		back.'	
sat quietly		They finished this	
and watched.		and then said,	2830
They got up		'Death kills, alas,	
and said		death kills.	
they should kill the neophytes.		The Bagre god saves us,	
They started beating them		so death won't kill.'	
in order to kill		They did this, three times,	

and then sang,
 'Let's go outside
 and see the neophytes.'
 They sang this
 three times, 2840
 became tired of it
 and stood up
 and began to go out,
 shaking their rattles,
 and then sang again,
 'Bend, bend your knees,
 bend as low as you can.'
 They finished this
 and then sang,
 'We draw out 2850
 an old tooth.
 We draw out
 a witch's old tooth,
 we draw out.'
 They finished
 and then they sang,
 'We take away
 an old ladder,
 we take away
 a witch's old ladder, 2860
 we take away.'
 They finished singing
 and then turned,
 came back
 to the room
 and went in.
 In that room
 the guides
 used their wits.
 During the night 2870
 they took the bells
 from the room
 and went out
 to the wall
 and buried them there.

When they finished,
 they returned to the room.
 When they went
 inside the room,
 they came 2880
 with the bells
 and sang
 into the ears
 of the neophytes,
 so they would hear
 and get up.
 They sang but weren't heard
 and they asked,
 what will they do
 about this? 2890
 The small being
 came up to them,
 felt them
 and said,
 'They're cold
 and can't get up.'
 And they said, 'Well,
 what can they do?'
 The companion
 and his being of the wild 2900
 came along
 to the house.
 Into the room
 they came
 and seeing blood,
 cried, 'Oh,
 what is this?'
 And they replied,
 the business
 that was to happen 2910
 on Bagre Eve,
 that is what
 they were told to do.
 But they did it in vain
 and made an error.

He said, 'Well,		He it is	
in this Bagre		brings	
where have we reached?'		sins	
And they replied		and pleasure.	
that they didn't know.	2920	He it is	
Look at the fellow		brings	2960
who asks,		tears	
'In this Bagre		and laughter.	
have you done the Beating of		He it is	
the Malt?'		brings	
And they replied, 'No,		poverty	
we haven't done this.'		and riches.	
'How did it happen,		It is God	
that when Bagre Dance		who brings	
came along,		life	
on Bagre Eve	2930	and death.'	2970
you killed these people?'		They asked him,	
And he went on to say,		'How is it	
'In Bagre killing,		that you God	
they don't kill with a club,		created people	
they don't kill with arrows,		and gave them life,	
they kill		yet others can take it away?'	
with wits		So he spoke	
and with medicine.'		and the child	
So he spoke		replied, 'Well,	
and the members	2940	if you want	2980
were afraid.		everything	
What could they do?		on earth,	
Then the small being		God	
got hold of them		will give you.	
and taught them		However	
how it is		God	
they should kill the neophytes.		we hear	
'Everything		has a house.'	
comes		And one of them [asked],	
from God.	2950	'Where is the house?'	2990
He it is		So he spoke	
brings		and stopped.	
evil		The senior members	
and good.		were still worried	

about the dead		and taught us	
that were lying there.		to perform	
One of them		the Bagre ritual.	
felt [a neophyte]		The time has come	
and exclaimed,		for the Beating of the Malt;	
'They're already cold.'	3000	it comes,	
So he spoke		and the neophytes	3040
and the small being		walk round with their gourds	
took his medicine,		and fetch water,	
put it in his mouth		water from the river.	
and chewed it to pieces,		They fetch it	
then spurted it out		and bring it	
over their heads.		to an open space.	
When he had done this,		They sit down there	
he pressed his mouth		all together.	
against their ears	3010	The guides	
and rolled his tongue.		were sent	3050
They woke up		back home	
and he said, 'Well,		to fetch some guinea corn	
now they're awake,		and they returned	
have they all awoken?'		to the open space.	
They all woke up,		The members	
and when they had done so,		sat there	
he said, 'Now,		and began to speak.	
let's finish		And they asked,	
the part	3020	'What did they say?'	
that remains.'		And they said, 'Well,	3060
'What part is that?'		as the matter	
And he replied,		now stands,	
'As you reached		what can we do?'	
the Whitening Ceremony		The elder	
without doing the Beating of		told them	
the Malt,		to wait	
and jumped		and he would pray.	
to Bagre Eve,		And he said,	
you ruined the performance,		'The gods,	
ruined it completely	3030	ancestors,	3070
and got nothing.'		guardians,	
And so		deities	
he got up		say we should perform.'	

However,
 we searched in vain.
 They said
 it was on account
 of the scorpion's sting.
 The elder brother
 slept badly, 3080
 so he took some guinea corn
 and went off
 to the diviner
 to get him to pour out his bag.
 He said
 he should draw near
 so they could divine and see.
 He drew near
 and they sat together
 and he asked 3090
 about the problem.
 He picked up 'deity'.
 And they asked,
 'Was it the deity of the wilds?'
 'No.'
 'Was it the being's deity?'
 'No.'
 'The grandfather's deity?'
 'No.'
 'The grandmother's deity?' 3100
 'No.'
 'The brothers' deity?'
 'No.'
 'The children's deity?'
 'No.'
 And then they asked
 if it was the deity of meetings.
 The cowries
 fell favourably.
 So we got up 3110
 and followed that deity.
 We followed
 and came to today.

We got up
 but the children
 didn't know what to do.
 So the companion
 entered the woods
 to look for
 the thing we needed, 3120
 the Bagre thing.
 But for the children
 the time
 came near.
 It came near
 and they got up
 to do their work
 and they killed the children.
 We saw
 they'd done wrong 3130
 and we searched in vain.
 However
 the being
 had told us
 to take
 some powerful medicine
 and put it in water
 for three days,
 then hot matters
 it would 3140
 make cool.
 And if we took
 that powerful medicine
 and put it on the fire,
 for three days,
 then cool matters
 it would
 make hot.
 So we took it,
 and still keep it, 3150
 but the children
 didn't know
 and they came along

and spoiled the ritual.		the river water	
We came back from the		to soak it.	
woods		On that day	
and returned		it changed	
to see the dead.		and we uprooted it.	
We saw it		They uprooted it,	
and when we had done so,		and when they'd done so,	
because of it,	3160	we went home	3200
we turned back		and reached	
and began		the house.	
to retrace our steps		What can we do,	
in order to know		for we've looked in vain?	
the things		They replied, well,	
that remained		they should all come there.	
to be done		They came	
and tell the children.		to the house.	
So it was		The guides	
that we revived them	3170	got hold of the neophytes	3210
and took them again		and sat them on the stool.	
to show them		When they'd done so,	
the path.		they took	
And so we arrived		some beer	
at today		and porridge	
and reached		and came along	
the Beating of the Malt.		and ate their fill	
We emptied out		and were pleased.	
the guinea corn,		They got up	
emptied it all out.	3180	and made a din;	3220
Don't you see		the companion	
it lying here		hushed them	
in the open space?		and they stopped.	
We got sticks		He said	
and threshed it		that Bagre	
till all the grain		is not for noise.	
dropped on the clearing.		So they should hold their	
And they said		tongues	
God's big flat roof,		and listen	
that is the clearing.	3190	and watch.	
And God		So he spoke	3230
then took		and they listened.	

He said,
 'The food
 you have eaten,
 some matter remains
 to be settled,
 yet you eat the lot
 and make a din.'
 So he spoke
 and went on,
 'The task
 that remains
 is a small one,
 yet a big one.
 But the neophytes,
 we initiate them,
 yet they make a din
 and we teach them in vain.
 Until today
 you've been searching
 for God
 but when I ask
 you're unable
 to tell the place
 he is.
 You see,
 the Bagre
 we perform it,
 but we don't see
 what lies ahead.
 However,
 in this Beating of the Malt
 we'll acquire
 the knowledge,
 we'll get to know
 a certain matter
 which we wait for,
 a certain matter
 which is in front of us
 and is behind us too.'
 Thus he spoke,

and when he'd finished
 we turned around
 and went back
 to the house.
 We got there
 and sat down.
 We sat down
 and the time came
 for us to get up.
 What time was that?
 Time for the Beating of the
 Malt.
 And we said,
 'A big problem
 lies ahead of us
 that you don't know about.
 It is today.
 We begin
 and want to teach
 the children,
 together with the women
 and the men.
 However
 the Bagre
 once reached
 Bagre Eve
 and you did something
 that wasn't right.
 And so,
 this time,
 all of you,
 try your hardest
 so that when it comes,
 we are not put to shame.
 We'll finish the Bagre,
 and then know
 what to do.'
 They went home
 and when the time
 had arrived,

3240

3250

3260

3270

3280

3290

3300

3310

one neophyte,
 a skilful hunter,
 went to the bush.
 A male antelope,
 with his horns held high,
 was coming
 nearer.
 He shot
 and when he did so,
 the arrow struck. 3320
 When it struck,
 what did he do?
 He hulloosed
 and it ran
 away
 into the bush
 and fell to the ground.
 When it fell,
 the senior members
 were thinking 3330
 they'd get meat;
 the boy's mother
 was thinking
 she'd get meat;
 the boy's father
 was thinking
 he'd get meat.
 When they brought
 the dead animal
 to the father's house, 3340
 they said
 to the boy's father,
 'There's no meat for you;
 and to the boy's mother,
 'There's no meat for you.'
 Then they were noisy
 and began to quarrel.
 They sat on the ground
 and gave thought
 and conferred. 3350

He spoke, saying,
 'How is it
 that you bear a child,
 and suffer greatly,
 you suffer,
 and yet somebody else
 takes his things
 without having suffered.
 If this is so,
 I can't accept it.' 3360
 And the others replied,
 'That's how it's done.'
 And again they went
 outside the house
 and conferred together
 saying, 'Well,
 as it's like this,
 we'll take
 the meat
 and give to the mother.' 3370
 The elders
 stopped arguing
 and thought again
 and said, 'Well,
 about this meat,
 if the boy's mother
 is a member,
 and the boy's father
 is one too,
 then the matter 3380
 is settled.
 You must leave
 the meat
 and the neophytes
 will take it
 and go along
 to the Bagre house.'
 They sat together
 and decided what to do.
 They took out some meat, 3390

a hind leg,
 they took it out
 and gave it
 to the father;
 and the fillet
 to the mother.
 And he said, 'Well,
 it's for the suffering.'
 She took it
 and laughed,
 saying, 'All right,
 that's fine.'
 Then they made
 the neophytes
 hunt around
 to kill something.
 They brought this back
 to give the elders
 so they could eat.
 But we put some aside
 for another day,
 because these things
 are indeed
 our Bagre things.
 What Bagre things?
 Well, this goes into
 the Bagre soup.
 So they said,
 and finished
 and then spoke again,
 'All you neophytes,
 if you go hunting,
 and don't kill anything,
 nevertheless,
 even if this goes on
 for a thousand years,
 when you do kill something,
 you must pay it to the Bagre.'
 'Why is it
 that they do this?'

3400

3410

3420

3430

'The children's
 pollution
 they are taking away.'
 So they spoke,
 and told of our gravest matter.
 And they said 'Wild boar,
 we forbid.'
 They said,
 'Porcupine
 is not one
 of our Bagre things.
 The grass-cutter
 is not one
 of our Bagre things.
 The wild guinea fowl
 is not one
 of our Bagre things.
 However
 if you kill a rabbit,
 this is one
 of our Bagre things.
 If you kill
 an antelope,
 this is one
 of our Bagre things.
 If you kill
 a partridge,
 this is one
 of our Bagre things.
 If anyone kills
 a squirrel,
 this is one
 of our Bagre things.'
 They spoke in this way
 and then stopped.
 The neophytes
 roamed around
 and killed
 some animals,
 then came and paid them

3440

3450

3460

3470

to the Bagre,		They went out	3510
to the senior members.		to go and tell	
There still remain		the Black initiates	
many matters.		and the White initiates,	
'What is there		the ones who are	
that lies in front of us		the hawks,	
that we don't know?'		that they should come and listen.	
And they told them		This is what	
what remains.		they said.	
There remains	3480	In two days' time	
the Bagre Dance.		they came along.	3520
One day		That old woman	
the elder		took a basket,	
slept and said afterwards		filled it with malted grain,	
that the Bagre		right to the very top,	
which was coming		and climbed up quickly	
had now come.		on to the rooftop.	
Don't you see		She got there	
the White initiates,		and the Bagre officials	
how they're laughing	3490	took their gourds,	
and getting impatient		plunged in their hands	3530
for the day to come.		and began to measure.	
They get impatient		They measured	
and begin to think.		the malted grain	
'What is it		and each neophyte	
that they're thinking about?'		had two baskets	
It's the food		full up with grain.	
for their greedy mouths,		They brought these along	
that's what they want.		but the grain	
That is why	3500	was not enough.	
they are hoping		Still, because of	3540
the day will come quickly.		the matter	
And they said that,		that troubles us,	
about the [collecting of the]		we will take it	
Malt,		and beg a head	
they should go out		that sits on our shoulders.	
and tell		So they spoke	
the elders		and measured [the grain].	
to come and perform		They went home	
the [collecting of the] Malt.		and reached	

their father's house.	3550	They cooked it again	3590
And then		at dawn;	
the old woman,		they finished cooking,	
who knows her job,		and when it came to the time	
took the grain		that the sun was high,	
and ground it		they scooped it out	
so it turned to grist.		into the vats.	
She took guinea corn		The wise old woman	
and turned it to flour.		got up again	
Then she took		and took	
the grist,	3560	her thing.	3600
put in water,		'What thing?'	
then mashed it,		The yeast	
poured on more water,		it was.	
and then scooped off		They added it	
the liquid		and the beer swelled up.	
and poured it		And they took	
into a large pot,		the flour	
mixed it up		that became porridge.	
and brewed it.		Night fell	
The slender girls	3570	and two days later	3610
built up the fire		they came back	
and it simmered away.		and saw the flour	
Then what did they do?		that was now porridge,	
They scooped it out		they saw the malt	
and poured it into vats.		that was now beer,	
In the evening		they saw the leaves	
they slept;		that were now soup.	
they got up		And the cow's flesh	
at cock-crow		they took	
and took off the liquid	3580	and put it in dishes.	3620
and said, 'Well,		When they had finished,	
this beer,		don't you see	
let's taste and see		the Bagre guides?	
if it's sour.'		For the elder	
They tasted it		stood up	
and it was sour;		and told them	
so they scooped the rest		to gather round.	
into other pots		They gathered round	
to cook it.		and took	

the small Beginning fowls	3630	Deity of the grandfather,	3670
and the big fowls		it rejected.	
all together		Deity of the grandmother,	
to the Bagre house		it rejected.	
in order to kill them.		The brother's deity,	
They wanted to kill them,		it rejected.	
so they called		The deity of meetings	
the White initiates.		it accepted.	
They came there,		You've seen what we've done	
and they said, 'Well,		to take away the evil,	
the thing	3640	right down	3680
we told you		to today.	
that was coming		So it is	
but had not yet come,		the fire blazes up	
it has come today.		and we want	
Let us invoke Bagre		to consider	
and repeat		this matter	
that the gods,		to see what's to do.	
the ancestors,		Well then,	
the guardians		the thing	
the deities,	3650	that we call	3690
said we should perform,		guinea corn,	
because of the scorpion's sting,		is a thing of Bagre.	
because of suicide.		And bambara beans,	
The elder brother		these too	
slept badly,		are also	
so he took out some grain		things of Bagre.	
and hurried along		And beans	
to the diviner's.		are also	
He didn't refuse		things of Bagre.	
but poured out his bag	3660	And the chicken	3700
and took the stick.		is also	
He took the stick		a thing of Bagre.	
and took out 'deity'.		Today	
He took out 'deity'.		is the very day	
Which deity?		when we want	
Deity of the beings,		to understand	
it rejected.		and finish	
Deity of the wild,		the matter	
it rejected.		we talked about.'	

And the elder
then spoke, saying
that the business
they did before
was not well done.
And they asked,
'Why wasn't it well done?'
'About the medicine:
you killed the neophytes
but didn't possess the medicine,
and killed neophytes with 3800
clubs.
That's not the way.
And therefore
I say to you
the medicine that comes
into the room,
watch what to do.'
The medicine was brought in
and as it came,
people followed with water
and sprinkled the man 3810
as he entered
into the room.
The neophytes were afraid
and the elder
told them
that the medicine
is not a big thing,
but it has great powers.
They put the medicine aside,
and in the evening 3820
they told
the guides
to look after their neophytes,
to look after them today.
So he spoke,
and the guides asked,
'How will we look after them?'
And he told them

that today
they'll kill the neophytes, 3830
really kill them.
The neophytes
became afraid,
and he said, 'Well,
it's nothing,
and yet it's something too.
I say that today
they will kill you.
If anyone has done wrong
and doesn't admit it, 3840
then when they kill you,
they can't revive you.
And that day is today.'
Some among them
confessed freely,
[saying] that
'Since the time
you made us members,
I did wrong.'
'What did you do wrong?' 3850
Then she replied
that she'd slept with a man.
Then they asked the men,
'What about you?'
And they also replied
that they had done wrong.
Some had slept with women,
some had quarrelled;
all these are Bagre prohibitions.
So they announced 3860
they would leave them aside,
and then said
they'd initiate the others
and separate them off
and allow them to sit down.
They sat down
and the elder
told them

to bring a certain branch.		the guardians,	
They brought it	3870	the gods,	3910
and he told them		the beings of the wild,	
to bring cold water.		the Earth shrine,	
And when they brought		wanted to perform a sacrifice,	
the cold water,		because of the scorpion's sting,	
he spurted it over the medicine.		because of suicide.	
And he said		The elder brother	
that today's		slept badly,	
day		so he took out some grain	
is an evil one		and hurried along	
and yet	3880	to the diviner.	3920
a good one.		And then	
Today		he will go	
is a joyful day		and see	
and yet a bitter one.		that we are instructing	
Today		you neophytes.	
is a cool day,		Do you understand	
and yet a hot one.		that this	
The neophytes		very day	
today		is the killing of the neophytes,	
will get their deserts.	3890	this very day.	3930
He said this		This day	
and then told them		you see the medicine	
to take the fowl		that lies in the centre.	
and draw together		That is what	
around the medicine		we will use	
so we may ask the way.		today.'	
They took		And he said, now,	
the fowl		the Bagre,	
with its basket.		they should leave it a while.	
'What sort of fowl?'	3900	They did so	3940
A red cock.		and he said:	
They came		'Put your hand in your bag.'	
and he told them		They did so	
to repeat the prayer		and they told	
and ask the way.		the members	
They spoke,		to take out something.	
saying,		They did so.	
'The ancestors,		'What was it?'	

'The great leather bottle		is following,	
we took out.'	3950	when they throw the cowries,	
And they said		they'll fall favourably,	3990
the initiates		and they'll initiate the neophytes	
should open it.		this very day.	
They did so		About the Bagre,	
and he said		as they said,	
'This affair		they have performed Bagre	
is such		last year	
that we look in vain.		and this year,	
Therefore today		up till today,	
you'll ask the way,	3960	the day of your Bagre	
so we can carry out a certain		performance.'	
task.'		They said, 'Well,	4000
He spoke		we understand.'	
and then told		'They threw the cowries	
the guides		and the shells	
to do their business.		fell favourably.	
The guides		They did so	
asked,		and went over to the medicine;	
'What business?'		when they got there,	
And he then said,		they said, now,	
'The big fowl's egg	3970	they should grasp	
will hatch today.		the medicine.	4010
And now		The elder,	
the bell		who knows so much,	
which is tied		told them	
inside the gourd,		to open it.	
let them untie it		They did so,	
and put it on the ground,		and the elder	
so that we know		roared out,	
what is the matter		saying:	
today.'	3980	'It's poison	
They untie it		I've inhaled'.	4020
and when they had done so,		He said,	
he said, 'Now,		'Instruct	
let the initiates		the initiates	
throw their cowries		so the Bagre can be performed	
so they can see.		today.	
And if the deity		For the poison	

is a cool one,
 and yet a bitter one;
 it is a good poison,
 and yet an evil one.
 However, like 4030
 an elephant in the swamp
 and like
 a hippo in the river,
 it can kill him
 today.'
 So he spoke
 and told them
 to play the xylophone.
 They played it,
 they played the xylophone 4040
 and they beat the drum;
 they did this
 so it blended together.
 He said this
 and then told them
 to pour out the medicine.
 When they had finished,
 he told the guides
 to draw near.
 They did so 4050
 and he said,
 'That's the way.
 However,
 don't let
 the Bagre
 take place
 as you did
 last time.'
 Again they poured out the
 medicine
 and he shouted, 4060
 saying,
 'The poison is cool
 and yet bitter;
 like a bushcow in the tall grass

and a lion in the swamp,
 it will kill him.'
 Terror
 took hold of
 the neophytes
 and they cried out. 4070
 In a little while
 they brought out
 some cudgels.
 They came
 into the room
 and the neophytes
 cried out:
 'Alas,
 today
 we're lost.' 4080
 So they spoke
 and we told
 the guides
 to bring some potsherds.
 They brought them
 and came
 and [we] put in the medicine,
 telling them
 not to let
 it touch 4090
 the neophytes' mouths
 but to hold it still.
 They did so
 and the elder
 selected one man
 to sit on the stool.
 And he asked,
 'Have you got it?'
 and they replied
 they had it. 4100
 And he asked again
 'Have you got it?'
 And they replied
 they had it.

And he asked again,
'Have you got it?'
And they replied
they had it.
They said this,
and he asked again, 4110
'What did he say they have?'
They replied
'The stuff that kills neophytes.'
Then he said
that each initiate
should let his neophyte confess.
After a while
the elder sat down
and roared out,
saying 4120
the poison would kill him.
And he said,
'Put out the light.'
They did so
and only darkness remained.
He asked
the members,
all of them,
had they got it?
They had it, 4130
so he roared out
twice.
The neophytes were weeping
and he said
the seeds for the medicine
should be ground up.
They did this
and when they had done
he asked, had they finished?
And they replied 4140
that they had.
'The killing of the neophytes
has arrived.'
So he spoke

and stopped.
He pulled the medicine gourd
nearer to him,
grasped it
and put it on the ground.
Then he shook his rattle 4150
and said
the neophytes
should be held.
They held them,
drawing
their cudgels
nearer to them.
The neophytes were weeping.
However
the elders, 4160
who know everything,
burst out laughing.
And then
the senior member
got up and caught
the senior neophyte,
held him
and roared out.
He roared out,
saying, 'The poison 4170
is a bad one.'
And he told the guides,
'Don't let it touch the neo-
phytes' mouths.'
So he spoke
and told the neophyte.
He took out some medicine
and blew it,
so the neophyte
became drunk
and lay down. 4180
He told
the guides
they should all

go in [and take some medicine].	Again they sang,	
They took some	"The Bagre bag strikes the fowl	
and blew it,	so it falls on its back, back, back.'	
so all got drunk	So they sang,	
and lay down.	and when they'd finished,	
They felt their skins	the elder	
and said,	spoke, saying,	
'They're no longer warm.'	'About the matter	4230
They sang a song,	we struggle with,	
and when they had done so,	what shall we do?	
they laid them down,	See here,	
singing again,	about this matter,	
'Death kills,'	we've searched in vain	
three times.	and still the dead	
Then they said,	lie down, so many.	
'Death kills, the Bagre god	What shall we do?'	
saves us,	What did they do?	
so death can't kill.'	They begged God	4240
They sang again,	to revive the neophytes.	
'All lie down in the room,	So he spoke	
and no one questions.'	and then told them	
They sang again,	to go outside.	
'Let them bring a hundred	They went out	
to pay for the neophytes.'	and then came back	
They sang again,	and reported	
'Whose house timbers	they had gone out	
are crooked, crooked?'	and could do nothing.	
They sang again,	They should go out again	4250
'Look here,	to solve	
take heed of this,	the matter	
today is an evil day.'	that troubled them.	
They then sang,	They got up	
'Let everybody laugh,	and conferred together.	
for today is a day of laughter.'	What should they do?	
They sang again	One of them	
and when they'd done,	spoke up and said	
they said	he would solve it.	
they'd divine with a fowl.	We should all	4260
They cut the fowl's throat	enter the room,	
and it fell on its back.	take the bells,	

and the things of the beings,
and shake them and see.

The elders
smiled gently
and said
'If it's true,
really true,
it'll help us.'

4270

And they went in
and entered
the room
and sat quietly.

The senior guide
began to speak
to the elders.

He said, 'Well,
what we've discovered,
we've come to show you.'

4280

'You guides,
do it so we can see.'
And he told them
to give him the bell
to shake so the neophytes
would rise.

He shook it,
but shook in vain,
and went back
to the elders
and told them
he had failed.

4290

The elders
laughed quietly
and said, 'Right,
they had failed.'

So the dead would rot
because of their failure.'

Then they said once more,
'About your problem,

[you] should confer with
one another.'

4300

They did so
and the elder said
they should wait.
He went over
to the senior neophyte:
'If you go to a tree
and climb it,

you'll come down the same one
you climbed.'

And he went on,

'The neophytes
have been lying there
right down to this minute.'

4310

And he told them,

'The tree you climb,
you'll also come down.
These are sound words.

But over the neophytes,
we have failed,
and we sweat on their account.

If a guide

4320

committed a sin,
and touched them,
causing today
to be like this,
then let that person with some-
thing to say
speak up.'

We told them,
and the members
then said,

'Now look
at you

4330

White initiates.
None of you is able
to revive them.'

So they spoke
and when they had done,
they took the bells
from the guides;

they shook the [bells]
 and put their mouths 4340
 to the [neophytes'] ears
 and then rolled their tongues.
 Up they got
 and when they had done so,
 each asked his neophyte,
 'Yesterday where did you go?'
 They replied
 they didn't know the place.
 When they'd got up,
 they told them 4350
 to listen
 to the song of waking.
 'They say
 initiates are always eating.
 So one leaves the cows in the
 byre,
 one leaves the sheep in the stall,
 one leaves the wife with her
 vagina,
 and they all congregate in some
 one's house,
 and cook their food together
 and give each his share 4360
 and eat quickly and leave.
 But the Bagre god's matters,
 see how they trouble us,
 and yet you say, initiates are
 always eating.'
 They finished singing
 and said,
 'Neophytes,
 by today
 they will have put you through
 all this business. 4370
 We have killed you
 and revived you.
 But if it happens
 to spill out of somebody's mouth,

the one who talks, his head will
 split open;
 the one who talks, his belly will
 burst,
 the one who talks, his life will be
 short.
 For, he said,
 this comes from our ancestors.
 They always buy 4380
 this Bagre medicine
 with a stallion
 and 100,000 cowries.
 If you don't know Bagre,
 you have to go
 and hire a member
 who'll come along.
 He it is
 who will give you
 the knowledge 4390
 of Bagre affairs,
 and you too
 will give him
 some food.
 Moreover,
 if you don't know,
 one fine day
 your child
 might argue
 with your Bagre elders. 4400
 This matter
 is a serious one.
 It is our bowstring
 and the breeding of animals
 and it is the hoe
 and it is trading.
 Moreover,
 if you don't realize
 the Bagre god
 has come to your house, 4410
 then only an orphan

will remain		if they ask you	
among the ruins		to speak,	
before the Bagre god		then say, 'Well,	
manifests himself.		I understand,	
He will make you		but as for speaking,	
sacrifice		some other time.'	
two cows,		'Why is it	
six sheep,		you refuse?'	
three goats,	4420	'An Oil Bagre man	4460
and fifty fowls.		is present	
If you sacrifice these,		and that's	
you will then be at rest		the reason	
and can get to know the Bagre.		you refuse.	
The neophytes		When you become	
will become members		a member,	
and go to Bagre.		you should follow	
They mustn't eat		the Bagre	
like vultures.		and its ways.	
Moreover,	4430	Then if it troubles	
in this Bagre of ours,		someone,	4470
a neophyte		you can help him	
may be knowledgeable		on the day.'	
and learn to recite,		So they spoke,	
but when you go to Bagre		and when they finished,	
and sit down,		they got up	
if they don't		and sang	
ask you to speak,		in the long room,	
then do not		and taking the rattles	
open your mouth.	4440	and taking the bells,	
And in Bagre,		they shook them	4480
if you go there		and sang a song.	
and see		'Give us way	
an Oil Bagre member		so the members can pass.'	
who tries to speak,		They gave us way	
let him do so.		and we went out	
If you should go		and sang again,	
and come across		'Draw back, draw back,	
an Oil Bagre member		so the members can pass.'	
on his way to Bagre,	4450	They sang	
then wait;		and came to an end	4490

and the guides
 ran in,
 snatched a burning brand
 and threw it [outside].
 In the Bagre matters
 that we are performing,
 they come out
 and throw this [brand]
 at the non-members.
 We go 4500
 outside
 and the non-members
 cook beans,
 bambara beans
 and yams,
 which they eat
 till they can eat no more.
 They start to dance again.
 They dance
 and when they've finished, 4510
 we go out
 around the house
 three times
 and then go in again.
 At the beginning,
 as we were going out,
 the guides
 took the neophytes,
 covered their faces
 and said, 4520
 'Neophytes,
 do you know
 the place
 we'll meet
 the Bagre?'
 They reply, 'No.'
 And they say,
 'It is today
 you'll understand about Bagre.
 The Bagre 4530

comes from the ancestors.
 The first men had it;
 it was their evil affair,
 and yet their good one.
 When they were buried,
 they should have taken it along,
 but they left it behind
 and now it troubles us,
 bringing death
 and the sting of scorpions. 4540
 You see this Bagre;
 they say that all the members
 should wait
 till daybreak
 to know what
 is there.
 For we Dagaa,
 our greatest possession
 is Bagre.
 Our most serious talk 4550
 is about Bagre.
 If you're not a member,
 you'll never hear
 about your grandfathers'
 affairs.
 And in Bagre,
 our elders
 are many.'
 'What do you mean by many?'
 'You saw that 4560
 in the Bagre
 there was the large fruit-bat.
 He's our Bagre
 elder.
 The belibaar bird
 is one of our Bagre creatures.
 The kyaalipio bird
 is one of our Bagre creatures.
 The large frog
 is one of our Bagre creatures. 4570

The damdamwule bird
is one of our Bagre creatures.
The crown bird
is one of our Bagre creatures.'
'What's an elder?'
'I tell you,
all winged creatures
and the featherless cock.'
'Why are these
our Bagre creatures?' 4580
'See the large fruit-bat,
which is one of our Bagre
creatures.
When we begin our Bagre,
we don't know the time.
The big fruit-bat
is the one
who shows us the time.'
'How does he do this?'
'He will know
by the shea fruit. 4590
He will know the time
to fetch the fruit
in the night,
to eat it and leave the nut;
then we know its the right time.
So we include it among our
Bagre creatures.
As for the featherless fowl,
we don't know the time
to go to farm.
In the wet season, 4600
we want
to farm.
It's farming time,
and the farmers
go to sleep.
Early in the morning
the featherless fowl
beats his wings.

The boys get up
and go to the farm. 4610
As for the damdamwule bird,
we don't know the time
when rain will fall
and we can sow.
We go on
and the rain stops
and we still sow.
We don't know that sowing
should have finished.
As for the damdamwule, 4620
when a big rain falls,
and we take out
the guinea corn
and go to sow it,
don't you hear them
clicking their mouths
and then start
to clear their throats?
We sowed,
we sowed in vain, 4630
and they told us
that the clearing of their throats
we ignored;
for the guinea corn
we sow
when they clear their throats,
it can come to nothing.
When this takes place,
we should no longer
sow the guinea corn, 4640
that's why we take this bird
and include him
among our Bagre creatures,
together with the featherless
fowl.
As for the belibaar bird,
as we reach the dry season,
we don't know when it'll come

but the belibaar bird
always knows the time.

If he comes 4650
from the rain side
and flies
where the sun sets,
then the dry season is upon us.
It is time

to cut the guinea corn.
When we've done this,
he and his mate
will come by
and show us the time. 4660

It is then
we begin [Bagre]
and to prevent the neophytes
from sinning
we tell them
what is forbidden.

That's why
we take
the belibaar bird
and include it in Bagre.
As for the kyaalipio bird, 4670
in the Bagre
it is beer
they always brew.

And the kyaalipio bird,
just at dawn,
when the slender girls
are sleeping,
he passes by
and cries out,
"Don't let a boar muddy 4680
the water."

They get up,
fetch water
and bring it
to carry out their Bagre.
That is why

we take it
to include in Bagre.
The male crown-bird
at the top of a tall tree
is sitting. 4690

Our Bagre
has to do with fasting.
He sits

on top of a tall tree;
the time comes
and he calls out,
"Bagre members
Bagre members
Bagre members." 4700

When he does this,
we'll get up
at midnight.

We get up
and give food
to the children.
They eat
and go off to sleep again.

They get up,
and begin to fast
until we perform the Bagre. 4710
That is why
we include it
in our Bagre creatures.

And see here,
an old guinea cock
is also in our Bagre,
for he too
shows us
the time

to perform Bagre.' 4720
'What time does he show
to us?'

We don't know the time;
however,
when the bean flowers

have come,		and a father.	
he and his mate		I repeat,	
quarrel		it has a mother and father.	
at night.		The father is rain,	
They get up	4730	the mother is earth.	4770
and he goes into		Do you know the reason	
his big farm.		I say this?’	
He is angry		They replied, ‘No	
and wants		we don’t know.’	
his food.		‘I ask this	
He goes there		and you don’t know.	
and sees the beans		When rain	
and plucks some		falls down	
and returns.		upon the earth,	
The elder	4740	it moistens the land.	4780
who sees this		The old men	
cries out, “Well,		go out to hoe,	
because of that		they hoe,	
our children		and get crops.	
were about to go astray.”		When they get them,	
So he spoke		they perform Bagre.	
and called them		That is why	
to teach the Bagre matters		rain is father	
and all the taboos.		and earth is mother.	
This is the reason	4750	Do you understand?	4790
we treat the bird		You understand now.	
as our Bagre elder.		We continue the Bagre	
If you choose certain things		and come at last	
and people don’t know why,		to Bagre Day,	
they’ll always be asking,		and find ourselves at this point.	
‘Why is it		Do you understand?	
you include winged creatures		One of these days	
in the Bagre?’		a boy	
“That is why,		will go out and recite	
at White Bagre time,	4760	about the performance	4800
they teach you		of Bagre	
the reason		and its truths.	
they are Bagre creatures.		Now Kusiele	
Our Bagre		are the Bagre joking partners	
has a mother		of Kpiele.	

If those people
 don't know Bagre,
 and you initiate them
 and teach them,
 the stallion 4810
 will be paid
 but not the hundred thousand.
 If Kusiele know it
 and initiate our Kpiele children,
 we will pay
 the stallion
 but not the hundred thousand.
 The way they pay for Bagre
 has a reason.'
 'What's the reason?' 4820
 'An old man
 who can't walk about,
 if they pay a horse
 that'll give him a mount
 to go to Bagre.
 That is why
 we go and take a stallion.
 The hundred thousand
 is for the malted grain
 and the fowls 4830
 that you'll use;
 and the guinea corn
 that you'll use.
 That's the reason for the
 hundred thousand.
 Have you understood?
 As for you neophytes,
 when you're finally initiated
 and three years later
 you're still alive,
 then Bagre guards you. 4840
 If you live two years
 and then die,
 a Bagre death
 has killed you.

If you live two and a half years
 and then die,
 Bagre is involved.
 If all you neophytes
 turn out well,
 then we'll be able 4850
 on the day
 to help each other.'
 So they spoke
 and then returned
 to the White Bagre.
 'It is the White Bagre,
 it is Bagre Day;
 we begin
 to teach
 the children 4860
 and the women
 and the men.
 We go in again
 to the long room.
 You see the food,
 you see the meat.
 It is beer
 we drink
 and make a din.
 The many matters 4870
 to be performed in the room,
 we recited them
 and completed all.
 And now
 we turn again
 to take the food.
 We have eaten.
 Neophytes,
 you have eaten.
 Senior members, 4880
 you have eaten.
 Ancestors,
 you have eaten.
 Guardians,

you have eaten.		you say that,	
Deities,		but instead	
you have eaten.		something else is there.'	
Together		He asked the wisest neophyte,	
you have eaten.'		to call out	
The next day	4890	its name.	4930
they say,		He replied	
'The day		'Benima	
has come		knows that;	
and we know		I don't know.'	
your kindness.'		He said,	
'What is kindness?'		'That is just	
'Kindness		Bagre lies.	
means a good heart.		For see,	
Kindness		today	
has things to give to others.	4900	you are now members.	4940
Kindness		You people	
loves everybody's child.		will go out	
Kindness		and one day	
respects the weak.		you'll see the moon	
You respect them		standing there.	
and today		If someone says	
they will come		"Do you see the moon?"	
with their fowls.		Don't turn and look,	
You will go out		but say	
and wash yourselves	4910	you saw it	4950
and anoint your bodies.		days ago.	
And now		You say this	
I will teach you		so they think you saw it,	
something.		but you didn't.	
You all see.		And so it is,	
The neophytes		if you and a non-member	
should watch.'		see the new moon,	
He raised his hand		then say	
and said,		you saw it days ago.'	
'Do you see anything?	4920	And so	4960
What is it?'		they always say,	
One fool		'It is Bagre lies'.	
said, 'It's a hand.'		Bagre Gyingyiri	
He said, 'No,		is performed tomorrow.	

We have come
 to the next day,
 and they told
 the guides
 to bring
 a broom 4970
 and a small basket,
 and take them to the room.
 When they send out the
 neophytes,
 you'll sweep off the dirt
 into the little baskets
 and then sweep
 yourselves
 and depart.
 Hurry them so they run;
 and when they go outside, 4980
 they sing a song,
 'The razor smells something,
 quick, quick, quick.'
 They go and sit down,
 and when they sit,
 their friends
 bring cocks
 which are for Bagre.
 And lovers
 bring guinea fowls 4990
 which are for Bagre.
 Young girls
 bring dawadawa
 and the men
 bring cocks.
 They beat them,
 beat them on the ground.
 The guides,
 the strong guides,
 go and take 5000
 some of them
 to their place
 and collect them together

to be used for Bagre.
 When they finished
 they told the neophytes,
 'Today
 you are raw Bagre members
 and these Bagre matters
 must never come from
 your mouth. 5010
 If it does so,
 it's Bagre you hurt.
 For Bagre
 is from our ancestors.
 For Bagre
 is a fine thing.
 For Bagre
 is a thing that kills.
 For Bagre
 is a thing that gives life. 5020
 For Bagre
 is a thing of the bowstring.
 For Bagre
 is a thing of the hoe-handle.
 For Bagre
 is a thing of chicken-rearing.
 For Bagre
 brings peace.
 If you also get
 to know 5030
 the Bagre,
 it brings you riches.
 In the old days
 the people
 didn't know it
 very well.
 If someone did,
 he was like a chief,
 a rich man
 and every kind of chief.' 5040
 So he spoke
 to the members.

'The Black Bagre,		porridge	
you can't leave aside.		and meat?	
You always recite		He seizes it	
for three days,		and eats.	
three days		When they eat like this,	
and three nights.		you know	
And the White Bagre		that one day	
they recite	5050	these may be your own	
for three days		people.	5090
and three nights		If you've got a mother	
and finish.		and she kicks you out,	
You don't stop there		you go to your father.	
in Bagre;		If your father kicks you out,	
it's like an antelope's leg,		you go to your mother.	
running one way, then another.		'That's why	
That's what I say		the sister's son	
the Bagre is like.		is not a person to be played with.	
Now, you'll go home	5060	Your clan brother	
and the bell		and sister's son	5100
which you have,		are all the same	
it's like an egg.		to you.	
In two days' time,		I'll tell you this	
if we're strong enough,		so you understand.	
we'll take it		About the sister's son,	
to cleanse.		in the old days	
If you wear the bell		a brother	
and you're a woman		and a brother	
or a man,	5070	looked after their father.	
and you commit adultery,		These brothers	5110
you wrong the Bagre.		went out	
If a man spoils a woman,		with the father	
you will find		into their farm	
a separate place for them.		to hoe.	
Now we come		The sister's son	
to the sister's son;		wandered round	
don't you see		to the farm	
the Bagre food—		where he saw	
the senior sister's son	5080	the two brothers.	
is taking by force		They and their father	5120
some beer,		were hoeing.	

As they were hoeing,
[the father] told
them to stop.

The sons
became angry,
measured the farm
and divided it
into strips
with their father.
He said, "Well,
I'm weak
and can farm no more.

I farmed and fed you
till you became men.

How is it possible
that you and I
can hoe the same?"

But they divided the farm
and finished their strips. 5140

The sister's son
saw his uncle,
in the heat of the sun,
farming alone.

He was an old man,
but look at the children,
sitting down after hoeing.

So the boy,
the sister's son,
takes a hoe 5150

and goes over
to his uncle's strips.

He farmed them
and when he'd done so,
the uncle

got up

and told

his sister's son

and his children

that he preferred his 5160
sister's son

to his children.

One day,
when he is no more,
the sister's son
will take his property.

If the sons
try to seize it,
they'll die.

That's the reason
the sister's son 5170

always takes property
and we say nothing.

That's what we tell
the neophytes,
the new neophytes,
so you know about the sister's
son.

But about Bagre

we tell you
that you'll complete the Bagre
at Bagre Bells, 5180

when they'll wash them
and then you've finished.

If there's a small boy
among you

who has some sense,
and goes

to someone's Bagre

and sits,
it's not for food you go.

You will go 5190

and sit

and look

and listen

how it is

they perform.

Bagre

is all one;

nevertheless

the way it's performed

is different.	5200	'What do they call god?'	
If you hear people		They said,	5240
reciting Bagre,		'A god is here	
you'll adopt		and God is there.'	
their way		The neophyte asked:	
and one day,		'The one	
when you recite		we follow	
the Bagre,		in this matter,	
you'll include this.		is it God we follow	
When you recite,		or is it a god?'	
you include that in your	5210	He spoke	
Bagre.		and the elder	5250
You do so,		said, 'Well,	
then greet		we follow	
their elders		God.	
and their distant ancestors.		He is the senior	
You will greet them,		but we can't see him.	
greet their guardians,		It is a god	
greet their Earth shrines,		who comes down to people.	
then recite Bagre.		That's what we call god.'	
If you leave		'Do our elders	
the Bagre room,	5220	say that	5260
you will go		God's child	
outside		is the one	
and pray		we follow?'	
to the Earth shrine		He then said, 'Yes,	
and then return.		we follow him	
You'll find		and so reach God.'	
you're able		So he spoke	
to speak.'		and the neophyte	
A neophyte		asked again,	
then asked	5230	'All these things,	5270
'Who brought Bagre?'		how can you	
They said,		know them all	
'The first people did.'		and be able	
He asked again,		to teach them?'	
'Who was that?'		They said	
They said,		they had performed	
'It was the younger brother.'		the White Bagre	
And he asked again,		up till today.	

the Bagre,		If you know [Bagre]	
we always take		and teach people	
a stallion	5360	of another patrician,	5400
and a hundred thousand.		you'll take	
Why is it		the stallion	
they always do this?'		and the hundred thousand.	
So he asked,		If you don't do so,	
and they replied		you'll go blind.	
'There's a reason.		If you don't do so,	
You see,		your voice	
someone		will change.	
went into		Now you understand	
the wilds	5370	the reason.	5410
for three years		That's why	
and then returned.		we say	
When he came back,		that if a child learns,	
he said		he will be able	
they could see		to protect himself.	
that his hairs		However,	
hadn't been cut		if you don't know,	
for three years.		you too can ask	
However,		and they'll teach you	
he brings a matter	5380	the Bagre.	5420
that is troublesome		If it is lost	
but teaches many things.		they will find it,	
So it is		but only through sweat.	
in our Bagre matters,		That's why	
some [beings] come		we say	
from the hill-top,		that the children	
and some come		should learn	
from the water,		the Bagre,	
from the river.		so that one day	
It is	5390	we'll help one another.	5430
to the river people		You now know	
they pay		White Bagre,	
the stallion,		today;	
and it is		there remains	
to the hill people		Black Bagre.	
they pay		The man who breeds chickens	
the hundred thousand.		and farms well,	

he is the one
 who'll become
 a Black initiate.

5440

However,
 if you
 always attend,
 you'll get to know
 the White Bagre.
 If you're
 an eater,
 you'll get to know
 the guide's
 duties.'

5450

'Neophytes,
 you understand?'
 The elder
 then said
 he wanted
 to go home:
 'What is left
 to be taught,
 you should teach the children.'

5460

He went home
 to his father's house,
 taking
 his meat.
 The meat of the medicine
 belonged to him;
 the Black initiates
 don't eat it
 until they have the medicine.
 He brought
 the fowls
 and threw them down
 in front of his house,
 and cared for them
 until they laid eggs.
 'Well now,
 this is what you'll do
 with these fowls.

You'll give them
 to your father's shrine
 and to the wilds
 and to the guardians.
 But the meat,
 eat it, leaving the bones,
 which you must bury.

5480

Don't allow
 a fowl
 to swallow them
 or it'll become
 a Bagre fowl.
 Bagre things
 you can't mix
 with things of the hoe.
 If you do this,
 they'll spoil
 and only senior members
 can eat them;
 non-members
 can't do so.'

5490

They went home
 and walked round freely
 and a week later
 they'll prepare for Bagre Bells.
 Because of this,
 no one can sleep with a woman.
 So they spoke,
 and two days later
 they told
 the Bagre mothers
 to bring the neophytes.
 They took
 the neophytes
 up to the rooftop
 and sat them down.
 And they said, 'Well,
 neophytes,
 it is today
 you finish Bagre,

5500

5510

and yet you don't.'
So they spoke,
saying, 'Well, 5520
you see
the Bagre
they've performed so far.
Many things
have been consumed.
Up to now,
the malted grain
and the fowls,
one man's fowls
amount to a hundred; 5530
the malted grain,
you know how many baskets?
Well, they amount
to twenty-five.
They sent you through
and you came out
today.
If one of you learns,
learns it
and gets to know it, 5540
it'll benefit him.
If they catch you,
make you sit on the chair
and you have no medicine
[with you]
and they pay you
three thousand
and a black fowl,
you'll take it.
Take out the medicine money,
and then 5550
you and your fellow members,
you'll know
what to do.
They don't spend it
hurriedly.
Spending Bagre things

hurriedly
will kill the neophytes.
It changes the neophytes' voices.
This is what 5560
they teach you
today.'
They will again ask
your children
today.
They tell
the neophyte
that if he's slept with a woman,
he should speak out;
they'll still wash his bell, 5570
for there's a special rite to be
performed.
'If you don't speak out,
but conceal it
through shame,
then one day
you'll be really ashamed.
Guides,
ask the neophytes.'
They asked
about their sins, 5580
and they confessed.
Again they asked
the neophytes
to confess.
They said, 'Well,
you've confessed
today,
now they'll wash the bells.'
So they spoke
and went on, 'Well, 5590
take the bells
from off your necks
and put them down.'
They took a vat of beer
and collected

the bells,		if you want the truth,	
set them down		Bagre	
and washed them.		is a grave matter.	
The elder		You grasp it	
picked up	5600	with both hands,	5640
a bell		following it	
and put it in the middle,		in the right way;	
saying, 'Well,		watch it	
if anyone		with your eyes,	
now has		and don't let it go.'	
a question,		The elders	
let him ask it today.'		then took	
One neophyte		the beer	
stood up		and washed the bells,	
and said, right,	5610	put them down	5650
he wanted to ask		and sat on the ground.	
how it was		Just now	
they know so much,		they want	
and yet death		to ask	
still kills?		a question.	
He replied, 'Well,		'We take you out	
knowledge		today;	
came from		in the Bagre,	
the ancestors.		what have we taught you?'	
And death too	5620	If a neophyte	5660
comes from		can get up	
the ancestors.		and recite	
The problem		the Bagre	
you pose		as they have done,	
is an old one.		they'll give him a cow.	
It is		[The neophytes] said	
death		[the elders] wanted	
that came first,		to laugh at them	
and Bagre		and they asked,	
followed.'	5630	what could they know?	5670
'How then		They said	
can it		that they first took them	
drive away		and collected	
death?'		some guinea corn	
And he said, 'Now,		and malted it.	

They were told
to go out
and tell the senior members
to come
and take the flour. 5680
[The members] laughed
saying, well,
they knew nothing.
'How is it
you don't know
about the time
when the Bagre god
picked on you,
and we started you on the way;
and yet you know 5690
about taking the flour?
Nevertheless,
the Bagre
we've spoken about,
we'll teach you
in the Black Bagre.
If you happen
to find someone
who knows Bagre,
and he teaches you, 5700
it is he
who owns
your food.
He owns
your drink.
When he teaches you
everything,
then he'll teach you
the Black Bagre.
If he is able 5710
to make a bell,
then you know
he can twist a bangle.
But now
today

you'll go down,
hunt around
and go into the bush.
If you see a partridge
and kill it, 5720
it's for Bagre.
If you kill a rabbit,
it's for Bagre.
If you kill an antelope,
it's for Bagre.
However,
if you kill a boar,
it's for the house.
If you kill a grass-cutter,
it's for the house. 5730
If you kill a porcupine,
it's for the house.
Are there any more questions?
[The neophytes] replied, 'Yes,'
and then asked,
'You said earlier
that you'd beg a head
that sits on our shoulders.
That's what I don't understand
and want to find out 5740
about.'
They replied, 'Look,
that's not a proper question.'
And then another asked,
'Well now,
the person
who sinned against Bagre
and didn't confess,
and then came out
of Bagre,
is there anything 5750
that can happen to him?'
They replied, 'Yes,
there is something,
for you'll go blind.

<p>If you don't go blind, you'll become a leper. If you don't speak up, you'll wither away. If you don't speak up, 5760 you'll become lame.' So they spoke and one [neophyte] said, 'Look, there was a woman who said she'd slept with a man.' He said this and they heard and said nothing. They asked 5770 the neophytes, 'Who has anything to say?' They replied that they wanted to ask this: 'When you're a member and go to a performance, and your elder is not present 5780 but only you are sitting there, and they bring food and give it you, can you eat it?' They replied, 'Yes, you can eat it.' He asked again, 'But if you go to the Bagre 5790 and your own elder is not present, and they ask you to recite,</p>	<p>what will you do?' They replied, 'Well, you yourself will recite and in the middle you'll greet the members, 5800 greet the ancestors, greet the Earth shrine. If you're a Kpiele and see a clansman at the Bagre, he's your brother. If you're a Kusiele and see a clansman at the Bagre, he's your brother. 5810 If you're a Bekuone and see a clansman at the Bagre, he's your brother. If you're a Yongyuole, and see a clansman at the Bagre, he's your brother. You won't be afraid 5820 in the Bagre. You will recite the Bagre until it's completed, and then go home.' Then someone asked, 'If you've been initiated, and get home and die, did Bagre kill you?' 5830 They replied, 'Yes'. They want to tell you that if you live</p>
---	--

three years
and then die,
Bagre is the cause.
So they spoke
and when they had finished,
they said, 'Well, 5840
do you understand?'
Then one asked,
'If you've been initiated
into Bagre,
get home
and fight with your wife,
will they make you pay Bagre
again?'
And they said
they can't do that.
And they said again, 5850
'Do you understand?'
Then one asked,
'If you've been initiated,
and get home
and your child
should die,
is Bagre the cause?'
They replied, 'No.
that's not the case.'
Then another asked, 5860
'If you've been initiated,
get home,
and your wife leaves you
to marry someone else,
can he take her from you?'
And they replied, 'Yes,
he can take her.'
He asked again,
'If he's been initiated today
and sees someone's wife 5870
who wants him,
can he take her?'
And they replied, 'Yes,

he can.'
Then one got up
and asked again,
'If he gets home
to find
that he has put something down,
gone through Bagre, 5880
and then can't see it,
has the Bagre god taken it?'
They replied,
'If you go home
and can't find something
and it's been lost,
if you swear
to the Bagre god,
he'll kill
your housepeople. 5890
If your kinsman took it,
he'll kill him.
If it's someone outside,
he'll kill him.
However,
if you
are silent,
the Bagre god will follow the
man.'
Then another asked,
'If a man and I dislike 5900
each other
and I go home
and he has something
that he gives me,
should I eat it?'
They replied, 'Yes,
eat it.'
Then another
asked again,
'If he goes home
and sees the lover 5910
he used to have,

but someone else has now taken,
 should I fight with that man?'
 They replied, 'No,
 you shouldn't fight with him.'
 And they said again
 that they want
 to tell you
 about the question;
 they said 5920
 if anyone has
 a question,
 it should not be
 on any topic whatever;
 they want
 the questions
 to be about Bagre.
 Then another asked
 that as between
 the Whitening Ceremony 5930
 and the Beating of the Grain,
 which comes first?
 They said, 'Now,
 what sort of a question is that?'
 and continued, 'The Whitening
 Ceremony
 always comes first.'
 Then one said
 that as between
 the Announcement of Bagre
 and Bagre Beans, 5940
 which comes first?
 They replied,
 'Don't you understand
 when they say "announce"?
 Announcing,
 that is
 what they do to begin with
 and always comes first.'
 Then another asked,
 'Elders, 5950

excuse me,'
 and continued,
 'Well now,
 when a man's an initiate
 and his wife stops menstruating,
 they pour water on her.
 Why is it
 they do this?'
 They replied, 'Well,
 it's an old path 5960
 they follow;
 they don't want
 someone to talk
 and this comes
 to the girl's
 hearing.
 That is why
 some water
 is poured over her.'
 Then another asked, 5970
 'When you go
 to someone's Bagre
 and see
 an elder
 at the Bagre house,
 and the old man
 is reciting Bagre
 and getting tired,
 what will you do?'
 They replied, 'Well, 5980
 when you see
 the elder
 getting tired,
 you can't take over
 the recital.
 You'll wait,
 and when he realizes he's tired,
 he'll call someone's name
 and that man will take over.'
 Then another asked, 5990

'Well, now,		who brought	
if you're young		this matter	6030
and an initiate,		and taught it to us.	
and there's an elder		That is why	
who's an old man		we always say	
and joined after you,		it's the ancestor's	
and you both go to Bagre,		affair.'	
and the food is brought in,		So he spoke	
who'll eat first and give the		and when he'd finished,	
other?'		[the neophytes] said, 'Now,	
They replied, 'Well,	6000	does God	
if you're younger		know about Bagre?'	6040
but were a member first,		They asked	
he'll follow you.'		and he replied, 'Yes.	
Then another asked,		It was God	
'The beings of the wild		who created us.	
and God,		Everything	
which of them brought Bagre?'		we say,	
They replied, 'Well,		he hears.	
God created them,		Everything we do,	
put them on earth	6010	he sees.	
and they sat there empty-		Because	6050
handed.		he created us	
However,		and knows all about us.	
the younger one		And God	
and his elder brother		told us	
were living together		he would have come	
when the younger one		for all to see,	
went and disappeared		but the reason was	
and they thought he was fooling.		that if he came here,	
He came back		he could not do his work.	
and taught us	6020	For if anyone's kinsman	6060
all this.		were about to die,	
God created us		he would ask,	
but gave us nothing		"Why does [God] kill [my]	
and when we were hungry,		kinsman?'"	
we had to find food to eat.		If someone's kinsman died,	
However,		he would come	
the younger brother,		and ask me to revive him.	
he it was		If someone was ill,	

they would come and ask [me].		you cannot	
to cure the sickness.		get to know	
If someone	6070	everything.'	
is struck by another,		They told	
he will come and say,		the neophytes	
"Kill the man who struck me."		and they understood.	
That is why		You have heard	
God		the Bagre	
doesn't want us		to the end.	
to see him.		What is left?	6110
He is near		God's matter.	
and yet far.		remains;	
That is why	6080	the Black Bagre	
he said, "Well,		will come.	
he would send a person		In that	
to come		they will explain	
who is more powerful than us		these matters	
all."		to you.	
Our forefathers		Do you understand?	
said that,		That is	6120
about this person's matter,		Bagre knowledge	
which we searched out in vain,		and Bagre seeing	
the first men		and Bagre hearing	
told it	6090	and Bagre eating.	
to our forefathers		He will eat.	
and they understood it.		This is why	
And we children,		we recite some	
we have now seen it.		and leave the rest.	
If you're a member,		We say	
the forefather's things		to the chicken-rearers	6130
you'll always hear them,		and to the farmers,	
you'll always know them.		'Initiates,	
But if you're not,		let's close the meeting.'	
even if you're clever,	6100		

SUMMARY OF THE WHITE BAGRE

Invocation (1). The elder brother is troubled by the supernatural powers and goes to consult a diviner (11). The diviner relates his difficulties to the deity of meetings who is associated with the Bagre society (37). The elder returns home, calls his children together and prohibits them from eating the shea fruit and other new crops (40). He sprays the children (The Asperging of the Neophytes) (55). He is again disturbed in his sleep and returns to the diviner (70). He goes home and when his children come from their farms, he tells them about the deity that is troubling them and that they must now begin the performances (90). The Bagre is something we have inherited from our fathers but it would have been better had they taken it along with them to the land of the dead (129). He pours a libation and sprays water over them (141). He tells them to return in the evening (149). Food depends upon the rain god (166). The rains came and the old woman collected some bean leaves, cooked them and began to eat (206). The children wanted to do likewise but the old woman warns them against eating the leaves (215). The elder comes to eat, sees the bean soup and knows it is time to call the Bagre members together again to carry out the Bagre of Beans (223). They come and he frees them from the prohibition on bean leaves (272). They have a feast (285). When they have finished eating, the elder addresses the Earth shrine, saying that they have just begun to perform the rites of the Bagre society, for which they need much food (336). He predicts the coming of the deity (352). The next stage of the ceremony requires yams which are not yet ready to eat (364). One day, when the father has been late in the fields, the old woman gets hold of a yam and roasts it (375). The children want to eat it but she warns them (391). When the father comes, he is given a piece of the yam and realizes it is time to call the initiates together (401). The senior initiates eat and drink first (436). When they finish eating, the elder addresses them, saying there is still not enough food (458). They roast some yams and then he prays again, asking for help (479). One day the elder was sleeping. An old guinea cock and his mate quarrel over a bean flower and drop it. The elder wakes and picks it up, thinking it is money he has dropped (561). Then he realizes that it is time to call the initiates together again (613). They gather there to perform the Ceremony of the Bean Flower and he tells them to repeat the invocation after him (635). They do so (685). The rites in the room remain (720). The elder addresses them, asking them what comes next (730). That is the Announcement of Bagre (753). They decide to leave this and go on to the matter of the shea nuts (781). A man goes to the farm. In a near-by tree a large fruit-bat and his mate have a quarrel and he drops a shea nut which falls to the foot of the tree (807). Looking for a white ant hill to take to feed his chickens, the farmer finds one under the tree and accidentally takes the shea nut as well (862). His father finds the shea nut and realizes it is time

to call the initiates together again (903). The old woman's daughters first make it into shea butter (933). Then the initiates are warned to start collecting malted grain for the Announcement of Bagre (966). They ask about making malted grain and it is explained to them (993). They collect the grain (1076). Some slender girls distribute the grain for people to grind (1098). Then the women fetch water and begin to brew the beer (1111). The neophytes are called together again (1196). Seeing the food, they start to eat (1204). The elder stops them, saying it is first the turn of the senior initiates (1214). The guides get their beer and start to make a noise (1221). The elder quietens them and tells them something remains to be done (1237). They must repeat after him the invocation, praying for good crops so that they can finish the ceremony (1251). One of them asks about the chickens they will need (1301). Each of the neophytes has fowls, so they may breed chickens for the later performances (1307). Any eggs laid in the same nest become Bagre property (1352). The people disperse again (1382). The ancestors and deities help to provide the crops required (1392). Rain comes (1409). The sun ripens the guinea corn and the beans (1423). The harvest is a good one (1436). The elder calls the neophytes and tells them to warn the members to come in two days' time (1451). When they come together, the old woman is sent to bring some grain (1479). The grain is threshed (1523), and winnowed (1533). They make it germinate (1541). They take it to the elder (1578). It is now the dry season (1589), and time for the Whitening Ceremony (1599). The members are called together (1601). The elder's wife carries malted grain to the roof, so they may see if it is enough (1624). When they have measured it, they give it to the women (1661), who prepare beer (1673). Two days later the members come together again (1678). They sacrifice a fowl to the Earth, the guardians and the ancestors (1724). The fowl falls auspiciously (1734). Other fowls are killed (1739). The guides start to eat greedily and are stopped, as the senior members have not yet drunk (1757). The guides eat and create a hubbub (1780). The elders tell them to keep quiet and explain that there is work to be done (1792). They must get whitewash to paint the new members, as well as string and small gourds for each of them (1806). The fibre for the string was purchased from the old woman for twenty cowries (1817). The gourds were found by the river bank (1833). The next part of the ceremony is of great importance (1849). This is the time they stop the neophytes from having sexual intercourse (1869). When the warning has been given, the guides prepare the small gourd for the neophytes (1899). The gourd is given to them (1924). Then they are shown some 'oil' (whitewash) and are told they will have criss-cross lines painted on their bodies (1939). On the following day they must go out decorated in this manner and sit in silence (1956). The elder calls upon God, whom he announces will come down to earth and bring food (1987). The guides then tie bells on the small gourds and warn the initiates that to break the gourd is like breaking one's own head (2015). The neophytes are given the bells, and told to go out and beg guinea corn from the neighbouring houses (2029). Prohibitions are put on the neophytes concerning the way they conduct themselves as they

walk around (2038). The elder then gives them each an old basket in which to collect the grain (2092). They beg grain and bring it to the elder (2114). He instructs them about begging (2121). They are instructed about the gourd and agree to carry it all the time (2178). They are told there is enough guinea corn but the fowls are too few (2224). They should go round and beg for some (after the Beating of the Malt) (2238). The way they do this is then explained (2247). They then ask where God is (2321). They discuss the matter and eventually the being of the wild comes and pretends that he is God, and tells them what to do in the ceremony (2457). The being of the wild tells them about his medicine (2493). They treat the medicine as he had told them (2517). The being of the wild returns and shows them how to complete the preparation of the medicine (2528). He tells them they should give it to someone to see how it works (2540). They do so and he dies at once (2555). The being of the wild returns to the woods and the elders try to discover what has happened (2558). The younger one goes off to find the being of the wild (2571). He finds him and tells him that his medicine has brought death (2582). The being of the wild replies that he warned them this would happen (2592). He accompanies the younger one back home (2613), and explains that he wants to teach them Bagre (2620). He asks why it is that the man has been dead three days and yet the corpse shows no sign of putrefying (2630). This is the most important part of the Bagre (2659). Because of this, all Bagre members are afraid (2663). He breathes in the ear of the corpse and raises him from the dead (2676). He offers to sell them the medicine (2687). They pay him what he asks (2694). They go to his house and he explains that he heard them asking about God (2707). He declares that he is God (2711), and they should follow his ways (2713). The elder is worried lest they kill any neophytes with the medicine (2722). The being explains that there are two medicines, the cold and the hot (2731). They ask him to allow the younger one to come back to help supervise on Bagre Eve when they make the medicine (2764). He sends his child, the small being, along and he watches quietly (2771). They start to kill the neophytes (2794). The elder shakes his rattle and they sing a number of chants (2801). They go outside the room, singing more songs (2835). Then they return (2862). The guides had buried the Bagre bells. They got these and rang them while they sang in the neophytes' ears (2870). But they do not get up (2887). The small being feels them and they are cold (2891). The younger one and his being approach and ask what has happened (2899). They say they did as they were told but must have made an error (2908). Upon inquiry, they find out that they have performed this ceremony in the wrong order (2916). Moreover they should not kill people with clubs or arrows but with wits and medicine (2933). The small being then tells them that it is God from whom all things flow, including life and death (2943). They ask how it is that if God gave people life, others can take it away (2972). The small being replied that God could give them anything on earth but that he also has a house elsewhere (2978). He is asked where God's house is (2989). Before he could reply, the elders say they are worried about the dead (2991). The small being spits medicine on to their

heads (3002), and brings them back to life (3012). They then return to perform the part of the ceremony they had omitted, the Beating of the Malt (3018). The neophytes fetch river water and take it to an open space (3037); and then fetch guinea corn (3044). The elder repeats the Invocation (3064). He tells how the elder brother divined and found that a deity was troubling them (3079). It was the deity of meetings (3109). Then today we did not know what to do and the younger brother entered the woods to find out (3117). Then they killed the children, following the being's instructions (3128). While we were finding out about this in the woods, the others killed the neophytes and we returned to find them dead (3155). And so we are performing the ceremony again (3161). Now we spread out the grain (3178), and thresh it (3184). Some guinea corn is changed to malt (3191). They return to the Bagre house (3200). The guides set the neophytes on a stool (3209). The companion reprimands them for making so much noise (3221). Something more remains to be done (3230). They come to the Beating of the Malt (3261). One neophyte goes hunting and kills an antelope (3309). But Bagre members and their kinsfolk quarrel about the division of the meat (3327). It is for Bagre members, but kinsfolk eat first (3373). All the neophytes go hunting and the meat is used for the coming ceremony (3403). They list the wild animals that are used in Bagre (3436). They prepare for the Bagre Dance (3480). The white initiates gather to eat (3488). They prepare the beer (3503). They prepare the soup (3609). The neophytes are called and they prepare for a sacrifice (3628). They recite the Invocation (3645). They list the food that is used for Bagre (3688), the guides become impatient (3710), the neophytes become afraid (3722), especially about the food, but are told that only those who have broken Bagre taboos need fear (3730). The neophytes confess their sins (3779). The members prepare to give the neophytes the Bagre medicine, which will kill them (3785). But they will resurrect those who have done no wrong (3837). They prepare to sacrifice (3891), again reciting the Invocation (3908). The initiates put their hands in their skin bags and take out the Bagre containers (3942). They untie the bells from the necks of the containers (3972), and throw some of the cowries from them (3983). The poison is tested (4019). The lights are extinguished (4122), they prepare the medicine (4133), and the guides blow it on the neophytes, who fall asleep (4181). The guides sing the Bagre songs (4192). They discuss what to do about the dead (4226). They pray to God to help revive them (4239). They shake their bells, but in vain (4259). But the senior members wake them up (4340) and question them (4347). They sing the song of waking (4350). The neophytes are told to keep the Bagre secrets (4373). Bagre is an old thing, which must not be forgotten (4378). It is expensive to revive (4416). The neophytes should learn the Bagre (4421). But they should not recite it unless asked (4434). Don't do so if an Oil Bagre speaks (4441). They finish (4473), sing a song (4476), and leave the room (4488). The guides throw a burning brand at the spectators (4491). The spectators eat their fill (4502). The neophytes walk round the house (4511). When they return, they are told of the importance of Bagre (4527). They are taught about the Bagre animals, whose actions

tell them when the ceremonies should be performed (4556). About the fruit-bat and the shea fruit (4581). About the featherless fowl and the time to go farming (4597). About the damdamwule bird and the end of planting (4620). About the belibaar bird and the approach of the dry season (4645). About the kyaalipio bird and the brewing of beer (4670). About the crown-bird and feeding the children (4688). About the old guinea cock and the bean flower (4714). The father of Bagre is rain, the mother is earth (4769). For it is they who bring the crops we need for Bagre (4779). On teaching Bagre (4800), and paying for it (4819). On deaths due to Bagre (4836). They get down to eating (4876). They discuss kindness (4890). The neophytes are taught to lie about seeing the moon (4931). They prepare for Bagre Gyinyiri (4963). The guides prepare to brush off the neophytes as they leave the room (4967). The neophytes sit outside and receive gifts from their friends (4984). Secrecy is enjoined on members (5005). Reciting Bagre is important and brings rewards (5029). The neophytes are told to look after their bells, which will later be washed, (5060) and to observe the taboo on adultery (5068). They discuss the role of the sister's son, and the reasons for matrilineal inheritance (5078). At Bagre Bells the bells will be washed (5177). On learning about other people's Bagre (5183). The neophytes ask questions about Bagre, God, and god (5229). In Black Bagre, the second grade, they will receive more instruction (5279). On Bagre and the payments to the beings of the wild (5383). Later on, the neophytes can join the second grade, the Black Bagre (5434). The elder goes home and takes his fowls (5459). Bagre fowls have to be specially treated (5482). The neophytes go home and later reassemble for Bagre Bells (5499). The advantages of Bagre membership are explained (5538), and the one who can recite it is especially valued (5542). The neophytes are asked if they have had sexual intercourse (5566). They confess (5582). They take off the bells and wash them in the beer (5589). The neophytes are invited to ask questions (5603). One asks about death (5610). The elders wash the bells again (5646). Any neophyte who can recite Bagre is offered a cow (5652). The neophytes are questioned about procedure (5669). They are then told to go and kill a wild animal (5714). They are asked if they have any more questions (5734). The neophytes ask about breaking Bagre taboos (5744). They ask about precedence (5772), about deaths following Bagre (5826), about conjugal quarrels (5842), more about deaths (5852), more about wives (5860), about thefts at Bagre time (5876), about hatreds at Bagre time (5899), about lovers at Bagre time (5907). They ask about the order of ceremonies (5928), about the pregnancy ritual (5949), about reciting Bagre (5970), about precedence over food (5990). They ask about the roles of God and the beings of the wild (6004). They are told how the first men discovered Bagre through contact with the beings of the wild (6008). They ask about God's role, and are told why he could not dwell on earth (6038). But he sent Bagre down to us (6080).

NOTES TO THE WHITE BAGRE

1. This invocation is repeated at various times during the course of the recitation and addresses most of the main categories of supernatural being in the LoDagaa cosmology. An alternative version of part of the invocation recorded in Tom (LD.), began:

Tingani	Earth shrine,
kpime	ancestors,
siuwe	guardians,
weni	deities,
ka bəər	say we should perform.
səən dəəb	Failure of childbearing
kure pime	suicide,
dunə nən	the scorpion's sting,
səən kuur	failure of farms,
ka tə kpēē	caused the elder one
ga fāā na	to sleep badly,
u zə u pie	so he seized ten cowries
zə kyene	and hurried off
gubasob zie	to see a diviner

I have translated *ngmin* as god; the root is found again in sun. But some of the LoDagaa also use *wen* (as in Tallensi *naawun*, God or Heaven) to refer to the Bagre god (*bo wen*), showing perhaps a LoBirifor influence. *ngmin* and *wen* are cognates. As both words occur in the *Bagre*, I translate *wen* as a deity and *ngmin* as god, but I do not think there is any difference between them (773).

The LoDagaa employ the term *naangmin* (i.e. 'head' *ngmin*) to refer to the (high) God. In the Bagre recital, *ngmin* in the singular sometimes seems to have the same reference but the LoDagaa certainly differentiate between the two concepts. *ngmime* are found here on earth in the form of shrines: *naangmin* has no such shrine, does not descend to earth and communicates to man only through intermediaries. The attempt to establish a shrine to him (B. 3590 ff.) was unsuccessful.

2. *Kpiin* (pl. *kpime*) are (i) the dead, and more particularly (ii) the ancestors and (iii) ancestor shrines. I have discussed this aspect of religious life in *Death, Property and the Ancestors* (1962).

3. *Siuwe* (LD. *sigra*) are not a separate category of being. Any shrine or ancestor may 'climb' (i.e. demand an association with) an individual and become his tutelary or guardian spirit. But there are also 'clan' tutelaries, which are independent foci of cult activities, although the only time I know of these being approached nowadays is during the Bagre. The word is cognate to the Tallensi *seyər*, which Fortes translates as 'spirit guardian' (1949: 90). The Bagre deity (*wen*) was described to me as the 'great guardian' (*sigkpēē*) (773).

4. *Kɔntɔme* I have elsewhere called hill and water sprites but here refer to as 'beings of the wild'. Such beings are widespread in West Africa (e.g. the *mmoatia* of Ashanti and the *kɔlkpaaris* of the Tallensi) where they are usually called 'fairies' or dwarfs, but this term has too childish a set of associations for the English reader. The *kɔntɔme* are the denizens of the bush or woods as distinct from the cultivated lands inhabited by humans. They are in closer touch with the supernatural world, both hindering and helping man in his endeavours. For the LoDagaa, they are an essential intermediary between gods and men, and stand halfway between them in the cosmological schema.

5. The leather bottle (*gan*, lit. skin, or *kpo*) is a small container made from hide, in which senior members of the society keep the cowries which they use for divination. Each second-grader (Black Bagre member) is given such a container, together with twelve marked cowries. However, among the LoWiili divination is normally carried out in connection with the beings of the wild and cowries are used as an auxiliary technique to divination with the wooden stick (see note, line 15).

6. I have understood *maale* here; this verb I translate as 'perform' (e.g. Bagre), but it also means to 'sacrifice', 'repair', 'make good'.

7. In this invocation man seeks the (mystical) cause of certain of humanity's recurrent scourges. The sting of scorpions, suicide, stomach pains and headaches, these are standard reasons for consulting a diviner as, like most misfortunes, they indicate something else is wrong. 'Suicide' here is by stabbing oneself with an arrow; some suicide by hanging (*yɔɔlo tie*) also occurs.

11. The two 'first' men are known throughout as *tɔ kpɛɛ* and *tɔ ble*. *Tɔ* (pl. *taaba*) means 'one member of a group of equals' and is often used in conjunction with a category noun e.g. *pɔɔyaa taaba*, fellow 'daughters' of a lineage. The most accurate translation would perhaps have been 'fellow' or 'companion', but I found these words too awkward in English. I usually refer to the two men as 'the younger one' and 'the elder one', but the original sometimes speaks of them as brothers. Whereas *tɔ* is used in everyday speech, *tɔ ble* and *tɔ kpɛɛ* are used only in Bagre. For another West African reference to two brothers, see Fortier, 1967: 31.

12. Sleeping badly is the sign of mystical trouble and usually prompts a visit to the diviner.

13. It is said that in the old days a bunch of guinea corn heads of the kind saved for seed (*kagyin*) were used to pay for a divining session. Nowadays it is cowries or metal currency.

15. The diviner first throws some cowries in order to make a preliminary check. But the main divination is done with a short forked stick and a number of material objects, bones, oyster shells, pieces of wood, stones from the river or from a shrine, which the diviner keeps in his skin bag. Each of these represents a particular mystical agency such as a deity (*ngmin*), or some feature of the sacrificial procedure which indicates what should be done, e.g. 'sacrifice' (*bɔɔr*, LD. *bagr*). All divination points to

sacrifice, which forms part of nearly every communicative act directed to the mystical powers, though it is not the only form of such communication.

The diviner clears a piece of ground in front of him, empties the contents of his skin bag on to the space, and then recites his invocation at the same time as shaking his rattle. The client then grasps the bottom of the stick with his right hand while the diviner holds the forked end with his left (hence *gobasob*, 'master of the left-hand'). Moved by the beings of the wild working through the consultant, the stick alights upon various objects from the diviner's gear and thus points to the cause of the trouble. The diagnosis is then confirmed by throwing cowries from the leather bottle.

20. For deity (*wen*), see line 1.

21. The 'bush' (*wiv* or *mwv*) is the dwelling-place of the beings of the wild; the word 'bush' is often used in Africa both for savannah and for orchard bush. I have often translated it as 'woods' but here I prefer 'wild'.

29. The 'deities' listed here are some of the many shrines that individuals may acquire. As is later emphasized, the Bagre has to do with the major goals of the peoples in this region—childbirth, farming (referred to as the 'hoe-handle'), shooting (referred to as the 'bow-string' and including both war and the chase), and the raising of livestock (referred to as 'chicken breeding', because this is how a man's stock is always reckoned to begin).

These values are not of course confined to this people; and it would be wrong to talk of them as LoDagaa 'values', since it gives a false particularity to their 'culture'. They clearly share these aims with many other neighbouring groups (and indeed most agriculturists) and this quasi-universality of aim is one of the basic reasons behind the migration of shrines such as Tigaari and cults such as the Bagre from one group to another.

37. Meetings (*kpaaro* or *kpaartiib*) are mainly ceremonies. Funerals apart, the Bagre performances are the major occasions when members of a local community come together, for drinking, dancing, eating, and for ritual activities. The phrase 'deity of meetings' seems to imply a recognition of one of the Bagre's main sociological functions.

38. 'Falling favourably'. If the cowries are thrown one by one from the container the even shells should fall in the same way (up or down) as the previous odd one.

44. 'His father's house' is presumably 'his own compound', where the ancestor shrines would rest in the byre. Hence it is also his father's house, even if the latter had not actually lived there; there is a presumption of residential continuity between generations, even if local movement and distant migration occur in practice. More usually this phrase identifies a woman's natal home.

49. In many sacrifices there is a motivational split between those in trouble, who come to give, and the spectators, who come to take.

54. The pile of earth represents (indeed is) the Earth shrine (*tengaan*)

though it also serves as an altar to the ancestors. The widow stands on such a pile at her husband's final funeral when making an exculpatory oath concerning his death (Goody 1962: 245).

55. The ashes and cold water are both methods of making 'hot' things 'cold', i.e. cooling down a dangerous situation. The joking partners, who help to control the bereaved during the burial ceremony, are also known as *templodem*, 'people of the ash' (Goody 1956: 81).

57. Spurting (*puwa*) is a 'ritual' gesture, similar to the scattering of water by priests in the Christian religion; it is central to the first of the Bagre ceremonies.

60. With these words the Bagre ceremony begins, and the prohibitions which the aspirant members (or neophytes) have to observe are formally recounted to them. The White Bagre text is at once a recipe for the ritual, the performance of the ritual itself, and an explanation of that ritual. This particular ceremony is known as *Bo* (or *Bag*) *puwu* and the neophytes are called to the house where Bagre is being performed, the house of one of the 'Bagre mothers' (*Bo ma*). There they sit on the roof and are told of the taboos which are first enforced and later relaxed as the whole series of ceremonies progresses. For a similar example, see A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge, 1922.

62. The first prohibition is on the soft sweet fruit that forms around the sheanut. This tree grows wild, though rights in its produce are often vested in 'alloidal' land-owners. The nuts are used to make 'shea butter', used for an unguent and as a cooking-fat. Formerly it was an important export from the savannah to the forest. The shea fruit ripens before the cultivated crops and it is taken as an indication of when the performances should begin. The ripening of the fruit is later linked to the role played in Bagre by the fruit-bat and a set of (forbidden) animals is associated with a set of (forbidden) foods.

68. 'Going down', because they were gathered on the rooftop and would have to descend by a ladder.

75. The second visit to the diviner is apparently to confirm the proper time for the performance.

106. This is the Bagre deity, who comes in front of a man, that is comes with the truth. It is only a coward or a liar that sneaks up from behind. Another interpretation of these lines is that the deity will not leave us (*n wana nyiu*, I have come to stay. Also *o wan zina*, he is coming to stay; *o wan wa zi*, he has come to stay).

108. K.G. thinks this should be *tuuri*, follows, i.e. 'he comes on the right (or favourable) side', while I have understood *tuori*, to point. In this I follow my original information. It is interesting how the interpretation of so central a passage can differ among knowledgeable men who come from adjacent clan sectors. See J. R. Goody, *The Social Organization of the LoWuli*, 1956, p. 70.

112. 'Birth', 'hunting'—the other main desiderata in Bagre are 'farming' and 'breeding' (livestock).

118. The elder one stops speaking but then turns to address the neophytes, telling them that if the Bagre deity has come, then they should set to in order to produce the crops and livestock required for the ceremony.

124. The 'truth' (*yel miong*) is the opposite of 'lies' (*ziri*); *yele* here means speech and *miong* is a reflexive form (*ma miong*, myself). *Yele* is perhaps the equivalent of what French students of the Dogon translate as *parole* and what their translators have rendered into English either as speech or as the word—quite properly, as the ambiguity is present in French. Among the LoDagaa (as I suggest with all unwritten languages) the concept of a 'word' (as distinct from a 'name') is hardly conceivable, though educated LoDagaa use the term *yel bie* ('child of speech', 'a bit') in some such way; however it is more properly translated as 'sentence' or 'phrase'. In my view the concept of a letter and a word (and indeed phoneme and morpheme) are dependent upon literacy. I have briefly mentioned this point in a critique of Griaule's book, *Conversations with Ogotemnêli*. If my suggestion is right, then 'In the beginning was the Word' is a non-oral formula: so that when Griaule is translated as 'The first word and the fibre skirt' (1965: 16), 'speech' would be preferable. On the other hand it will be clear from an examination of the present text that *yele* refers to the content as well as to the medium. So that I have also translated the word as 'affair', 'matter', at times as 'trouble'. It will be readily understood that since speech is the only means of communicating complex matters (for there is no alternative to oral intercourse), the separation of the form and content of utterance is neither relevant nor possible.

129. 'Forefathers' are *diödem* (*diö* = early, ancestral); alternative *deung-dem*. I use 'ancestors' to translate *kpime*; *sāākum* (grandfather) is sometimes used in the same way (especially in the plural *sāākum mine*).

136. Although I have taken this passage as referring to Bagre, it could also refer to death.

137. The Bagre ceremony is seen as an imposition upon, as well as a benefit to, mankind. Not only does it involve the expenditure of much food, time, and labour, but the very fact that we have inherited it means that we have to perform it. To do otherwise would be to invite retribution from the deities concerned. But here is a further level of ambiguity, since (as will become increasingly clear) we do not know whether these ceremonies contain truth or lies. Indeed, we know that they are partly lies. The approach to these ceremonies is much more sophisticated than most discussions of 'primitive thought' would allow, especially when these are based upon a radical dichotomy of the kind used by Lévy-Bruhl or Lévi-Strauss.

152. This passage appears to refer to the coming of the Bagre deity, since similar phrases are used at other such times. But it could perhaps refer to the Bagre members.

169. The growth of crops is dependent upon the rain, which is associated (like everything else) with 'spirit' or 'god' (here *ngmin*); through the sky, rain is also closely linked to God. Shrines to the rain appear on the roofs of some houses, usually above a room wholly devoted to shrines; this 'rain-roof' (*saa garo*) is forbidden to women and children. But the shrine has to do with lightning more than with rain itself.

170. At a later point the male rain and female earth are counterposed. The Earth is never *ngmin*, though the rain is (or has). Rain is associated with the sky and the sun. The concepts of god (*ngmin*) or God (*naangmin*) and sun are related in a fairly obvious fashion, as elsewhere in the region, but it should be insisted that the actors often deny such a relationship when it is put to them.

188. Lit. 'keep us together'.

197. Lit. 'to follow and bring along'. If I send a man for someone else, *o biero wa*.

203. No mention is made of what he did but the reference is probably to some instructions given to the initiates.

209. An old woman (*pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ̃*) appears both as the female companion (or wife) of God and as the consort (or wife) of the elder brother. In both cases she performs the complementary female tasks, such as cooking food and brewing beer.

211. Bean leaves are forbidden to aspirants as are certain other new crops. They are one of the first new crops to appear and hence one of the first from which the neophytes have to be protected.

249. The elder brother realized that since the bean leaves were ready to be plucked, the next phase of the ceremony must be begun straightaway. So the neophytes are told to call together the initiated members. Two day's warning is required to brew the beer.

259. *Biõ* (*biõõ*) or *bieng* are beans; *bion* (*bionn*) is an alternative to *bion vaari*, bean leaves. This ceremony should really be called the Bagre of Bean Leaves.

288. The basic food of the LoDagaa consists of porridge and beer, both made from guinea corn (*sorghum*). The initiated members eat a meal of this, prepared from grain provided by (or on behalf of) the neophytes; then they get down to work.

297. *Di nã wuro sob* is a greedy person; the word *wuro* is used only in exclamatory phrases, e.g. *a wuro te te te te*, that's a loud noise.

309. The stone is any stone used for addressing the Earth shrine. Each parish or ritual area has its own Earth priest (Goody 1956: 91 ff.), but here the term may refer to the leader of these rites acting in the capacity of master of the Earth.

321. That is, the end. We are just beginning.

333. The Bagre members pray for the crops they need to perform the ceremonies.

344. That is we pray (beg) for wisdom, for good fortune. 'Bury' is here 'to get rid of'.

349. The Bagre deity will tell us about what lies ahead and still remains to be done.

364. Yams (*dioscorea sp.*) become ripe between July and September when the tubers (*nyu kpiri*) are dug out from the mounds and detached from the vines leaving room for the smaller seed (*nyu wele*) to develop. The main harvest is in late November and early December when the tubers are brought to the house. In this area yams are something of a luxury food.

377. *N lieb puori*, I turn back.

379. *Bie*, wise, wonderful, strange; but apparently 'evil' in some contexts (B. 5383).

381. Possibly his wife's father's house (the old woman digs up the yam) but from the standpoint of the gift it is more likely to be his daughter's husband's house.

394. *O kōnena dib iŋg*, he cries out for food.

412. The neophytes ('children') are called to the rooftop of the Bagre house before every phase of the ceremony. This particular ceremony is known as the Bean Flower (*Beng puru*).

420. *Puru*, flower(s); *puor*, to greet; *pu(r)*, belly; I have heard the title of this ceremony translated as 'Greeting the Beans'.

441. Each neophyte is accompanied by a White Bagre member (a first-grader) and sometimes by a Black Bagre member (a second-grader). In this ceremony the White Bagre members drink the top of the pots of beer in the name of the ritual officiants, i.e. those seniors capable of reciting the text and known as the Bagre Speakers (*bo netuuri*). Other initiates learn the text and may take over (see W. 5970), but only the older, more experienced members are known by this title.

454. Hawks are full of greed, for they swoop down to seize young chicks.

476. For underground vegetables, *ā nyēna*, it is ready (*a be nyē seve* or *a be wume*, it's not yet ready); *bi* is used for fruit, beer, and for meat; for corn, *a piola*, *a kwona*. *Nye* also means to lay eggs or to defecate.

487. It is the officials telling members to go and instruct the neophytes.

503. The major categories of supernatural agency are called upon to help get the crops and livestock needed for the performances.

508. The two previous injunctions of this kind (W. 104 and 152) are spoken to the deity, but here it appears to be the initiates that are so addressed.

561. So far the text has taken the form of a guide to the ceremonies. Here it enters upon a narrative which explains the association of the old guinea cock with Bagre, and specifically with the bean flower. The link has to do with ceremonial (or liturgical) time-keeping.

597. The white bean flower was in the guinea cock's mouth.

603. The shell money consists of small white cowries (*cyprea moneta*) originating in the Indian Ocean; a man would normally keep them in the skin bag slung over his shoulder, a woman in the basket (*tiib pele*) she carries on her head.

641. An expression of surprise.

662. It is the elders addressing the neophytes; in line 674 the elders become singular and refer to the reciter. This kind of switch is very common and consistency in respect of numbers, tenses, and mode of speech (direct or indirect) is not very important. This relative lack of attention to consistency is partly a function of the context of recitation and partly an aspect of oral converse. In the situation of the ceremony, the recital jumps from telling about the performance to addressing the neophytes; it jumps from the time of the first men to that of the present, for the first initiation is also the present one and the elder brother is also the present 'mother of Bagre'. And the reciter represents the second-graders as well as speaking for himself and the ancestors. But the written sentence invites and receives a closer scrutiny than the spoken word; writing irons out a certain roughness in the texture of speech.

675. The idea of a god 'coming for us' is not to be ascribed to culture contact (though we can rarely rule this out as a possibility). Gods are there to help as well as to harm, and they move between heaven and earth.

683. 'The words' (which I use to translate *tu a ne*, lit. follow the mouth) are the *bag (bo) kab*, the invocation with which the recital starts and which calls upon the various categories of supernatural agency to help in the performance of Bagre.

710. The food we bring barely suffices.

721. The LoDagaa do not distinguish in words between *ritus* and *mos*, between rites and other forms of behaviour. I have used rites in order to get away from repeating 'thing', 'doings' (e.g. Greek *dromenon*).

737. *Ma taa*, cluster together; *man taa*, consult together.

739. The uncertainty of the solution offered is stressed throughout. Are we being deceived?

781. There is a good deal of uncertainty about the order of the ceremonies, and much of the text of the White Bagre depends on this.

809. The accoutrements are the ones a man takes to the field, the basic tools for carrying out the productive processes.

825. Once again, as with the guinea fowl and the bean flower, it is the female's refusal to copulate with the male that leads to a dispute. As a result of the quarrel, the Bagre members get what they are looking for, the object that is now forbidden to the neophytes.

849. Sexual intercourse and the provision of food are closely intertwined; the reciprocity is clearly expressed in lines 852-3.

867. The mounds made by white ants are collected in the woods to feed to young chicks. The first mounds he digs contain no ants.

883. Napolo was the name of the founding ancestor of the reciter's lineage; in the Black Bagre Napolo is the son of the 'younger one', i.e. God's child.

890. In the early 1950s (and even today) beer was nearly always purchased for cowries rather than for the official metal currency of West Africa. This was because women found it more useful to have cowries which they could use not only for traditional payments where currency would have been inappropriate (for funeral contributions and marriage prestations) but for the purchase of cheaper grain (guinea corn) in the neighbouring Ivory Coast. By the use of cowries they evaded the problems arising from the introduction of 'national' currencies and it is still true today that many border areas prefer to deal in such 'international' media of exchange rather than in more restricted national currencies.

893. Women brew beer on different days of the (six-day) week and it is to their houses that men repair when they return from the farm. Naturally the better one knows a woman the more likely she is to reserve you a pot of beer; most women have a regular clientele which includes their 'lovers' (*sen*). In my experience the term *sen* (lover, mistress) does not necessarily signify a sexual relationship; it is used as a word of generalized endearment, like 'love' by bus conductresses in the north of England.

931. *Ir* (falling tone), to get up; *ir* (rising tone), to pick up.

933. The old woman's daughters take over because the making of shea butter is a woman's task.

941. This Bagre phrase sometimes means 'for a short time', but here a longer period seems to be indicated.

953. *Kazikuwra*, a guinea corn farmer; but *kuwra* (pl. *kuwɔ*) on its own can refer to a person (e.g. an affine) who comes to help on the farm.

978. That is the time when they bring the malted grain to use for the beer.

986. The neophytes and their guides (who are first-graders) bring their grain to the rooftop of the house where the Bagre will be performed. They are asked to put their hand in the basket of malted grain to ensure that it is a full one.

997. There follows a detailed description of the making of guinea corn beer (or *peto*), the stages of which are very similar to those for all forms of beer. I should add that this lengthy description has no educative function for anyone present, since the process is well known to everybody. It is simply a description of one of the basic cultural processes.

999. There is one type of guinea corn that is called *kpaluwra gyɛle*, after the name of a small bird that builds its nest on the ground.

1069. The one who proposes to hold the Bagre provides the guinea corn for the beer, stating that if he cannot get the rest of the goods needed for the performance, he will use the grain to provide beer for the men whom he calls to hoe his farm.

1081. After the description of how the malted grain is made, we are now back at the first part of the ceremony, where the guinea corn is measured.

1098. In terms of generation the 'slender (or tall) young girls' are opposed to the 'wise (or strange) old women'. By implication they are her daughters, at least in a classificatory sense; they are also the unmarried (or recently so) as distinct from the married. In the Black Bagre the same phrases are used to describe the denizens of heaven as are here used for the inhabitants of earth.

The plural form of the noun is shown here by the adjective alone e.g. *baala*, sing.; *baali*, plural; *baalo*, adverbial form. See also *pɔɔ* (or *deb*) *wobo*, tall woman (man), pl. *pɔɔ woyr*; *deb nyããng*, pl. *deb nyããn*, old man; *bi faa*, pl. *bi faar*, bad child.

1104. When the grain has germinated and dried, it then has to be ground into flour (grist) on the granite grinding-stone (*nier*) found in the long room (*kyara*) of most houses (for a description of the LoDagaa house, see Goody 1956; 38 ff.). The grain is sent round to all the houses in the neighbourhood so that the arduous job of grinding can be done by more people and done more quickly.

1145. The making of beer takes two days and requires the full attention of the brewer who has to get up earlier to brew the beer a second time. Here is an explanation of why the featherless cock is associated with the Bagre; it is he who wakes the slender girl.

1162. *Wel* (D. *wuɔl*) differs from *yaa* (1137) in that you only scoop out the liquid and leave the solid. *Kuɔri* is also to scoop out (completely).

1194. A half of a gourd or calabash is the usual drinking vessel.

1206. *Birɛ*, leaves for soup; but *biyr* or *byur* when used for string.

1212. *Kyɔri*, to walk in single file; *kyuuri*, to silence someone.

1218. To sit near can be expressed by *kɔɔ*, *piele*, or *gbo*.

1226. The Speakers are the reciters, the *bo netuuri*; they repeat the earlier ritual with the beer. *Biõ* is to offer something without meaning a person to accept it.

1260. For the mound of earth, see note for W. 54.

1313. Some people are fortunate in being able to rear chickens. The neophytes are given a Beginning Fowl to look after and breed chicks for use in the ceremonies.

1362. The *tĩĩ* in 'the Beginning Fowl' appears to be cognate with *tĩ* in the opening phrase of the Black Bagre.

1395. The Black initiates (or second-graders) have the leather bottle (*gan*) containing the marked cowries used for special divination (though only in the context of the ceremonies themselves).

1409. The rain and the wind are associated with God, who is concerned with the heavens.

1419. Bambara beans or *voandzeia subterranea* (*singbile*) get ripe in November.

1437. *Gur*, to fold, to pull close to; here, to harvest.

1440. *Tɛ* is an unusual expression for the wind blowing; it refers to shooting with a bow.

1466. The deity has fulfilled his promise.

1522. The goods required for supernatural purposes are never sufficient to meet the needs of man or god. Men are always in debt to the gods.

1523. This section on malting the grain should logically come before that on the brewing of the beer; K. G. commented independently that it appears to be displaced.

1543. *Bura*, to get wet; *bul*, to grow.

1600. The Whitening Ceremony is the *Bo pir* (also known as *Bo byur*). This is the occasion on which the initiates are painted in stripes.

1670. This verb (*gbē*) is only used for grinding the malted grain; the set of grinding terms include *gyieri*, *gbō*, 'yer.

1733. The chicken that falls on its back is accepted; otherwise it is refused.

1743. The Earth shrine is always outside, the ancestors' inside. The guardians are often at the foot of the ancestor shrines in the byre, though the category is a wide one and can include other shrines. The deities are usually on the rooftop, hence the climb up; the Bagre deity is sometimes known as the *buur kəkər wen* (*ngmin*), the deity in the neck of the granary, for it is usually placed in the top part of the granary that rises above the roof.

1769. The White initiates are again reprimanded for discourtesy towards the ritual officiants, members of a higher grade.

1775. The food is thrown in the middle and everyone grabs.

1807. At the Whitening Ceremony the initiates are painted with stripes of whitewash and set outside the community. They are treated in a manner similar to a widow, though the latter are whitened all over (Goody 1962: Plate 16); the initiates on the other hand look more like skeletons than ghosts. The shea oil is to whitewash their bodies, the string to tie round the head (as with widows) and the gourds are kept until the neophytes have been safely initiated and are then broken.

1818. Women traditionally wore a series of bands around their waists, made either of fibre or goat hide, the former having been soaked in water. The fibres stolen by the initiates have presumably been collected to make into waist bands. Female neophytes normally wear disposable bands plaited from the fibre of guinea corn stalks (*gyimue*), since these are all destroyed at the end of the ceremony.

1828. *Lizer mwō*, twenty itself; *miong* is used for a person.

1834. These are small wild gourds, needed as containers for Bagre medicine.

1852. Bagre Eve (or Night) is the name given to one of the days of the later ceremony called Bagre Dance. Here the name seems out of place; it is possibly a mistake of the reciter, a mistranslation of mine (e.g. in the tense), or an alternative appellation for this night when there is so much work to be done.

1861. The 'Bagre oil' is the whitewash; the gourd is later broken; the head pad (a circle of plaited grass) is used to carry heavy loads but in this case the gourd is placed on it; gourd, *kuɔr*, but half (a calabash), *ngman*.

1879. They must not have sexual intercourse which is here especially polluting but always carries the implication of the interchange of dirt.

1889. The painting in whitewash, as in funerals, is a kind of silent oath whose effectiveness is guaranteed by the Earth from whence the chalk comes (Goody 1962: 58).

1903. The string is made from the fibre.

1919. *Kyiiri fu puɔ*, to swear, pour out your belly, confess.

1924. The guide asks the neophyte whether he is spiritually ready to have his body marked with the whitewash, known as oil.

1950. He'll stop him from talking but not from eating.

1955. The criss-cross lines, the marks round the mouth, are characteristic of Bagre and the Bagre deity, who is addressed as *ngmin nyɔtuon* (the god with the mark between the eyes) and *ngmin sɔr goba* (the god with the black and white stripes) at the beginning of the Black Bagre. The first is identified with the younger one (B. 5253), the second with his elder brother (B. 5256). For the painted initiates, see Labouret, 1931: Plate 31. *Bangyiiri* is a diagonal cross, *garagiiri* is a right-angled one.

1972. The initiates are prevented from talking until the next ceremony and are once again prohibited from polluting themselves through sexual intercourse, even with legitimate partners.

1991. The Bagre god is here spoken of as God. All beings are in some sense created by God, and hence are refractions of him. But this formulation gives them too little independence.

1999. *Yɛri* is to carry a bag; *su* is to put on (a shirt).

2003. To bring food. As is shown in W. 2014, we owe the produce to God, to the Bagre god.

2016. The bells are mentioned for the first time. These objects, made of iron, are used for communicating with (calling upon) the beings of the wild, who are closely connected with the Bagre ceremony and are indeed a central feature of the cosmological scheme of the LoDagaa. The bell is tied to the gourd by means of the string (fibre). The gourd has to be guarded as one's own head; indeed it *is*, in a sense, one's head. To point with the left hand is to lack respect.

2042. You have to keep away from the guide because he may be 'dirty', having slept with his wife; the guides are only required to abstain on the days of the performance themselves.

2059. *Baangyira*, from the Hausa; LoDagaa is *samani*.

2065. *Bharena a mwo puo* is to go off the road into the 'bush', to be lost.

2085. The neophytes are told that during the time they are whitewashed they should not allow people, even their guides, to see them perform the functions of eating, drinking, and defecating. While they cannot prohibit such behaviour, as they can talk and sex, they can at least conceal it. In this way, they become in a sense non-human: to be human is (paradoxically) polluting, certainly shameful; they may be polluted by their guides who have been having sexual intercourse.

2099. The guide will put the basket down, so that people can make contributions for Bagre expenses. *O na bina* would be the correct form as I have translated this.

2197. The fellows are the helpers. They object to the elders taking the gourds away.

2216. They take the gourd out of the bag (*ira*).

2299. You go home and tell your people, and they say you should not have walked away.

2333. *Siona* (or *shoon*) implies obligation; *a siona* (LD. *seyina*) *ka n kyen* *Father yiri diã*, I ought to go to the Father's house today (R.T.).

2424. *Ol wa ira, on kyen*: if he wants, he can go.

2448. *Fu naa ti vëna kyeni*, you should have waited (or refused) to go.

2456. The search for God is a constant theme of the two Bagre myths, and it is a search for direct communion with God as well as with other gods. But the search is constantly confused by the intervention of the beings of the wild, who are intermediate (but not intermediaries) between man and god. The beings make their first appearance (in W. 2457) as tempters; in the Black Bagre they also appear as the originators or transmitters of human technology.

2509. The hot and cold imagery noted at W. 55 appears again in a very direct way.

2521. Original: *ka ti gyire*.

2571. It is clear from line W. 5237 that it is the younger of the two first men who gets up and goes into the woods to see the beings of the wild, just as it is he who visits both them and God in the Black Bagre. But it is of course the elder of the two who first consults the diviner about what should be done (W. 11).

2578. The beings are denizens of the wilds, the bush; they live on hills, in rivers, and in woods.

2649. Three days is the normal period during which an adult corpse is displayed before burial.

2687. The roan antelope is here the beings' equivalent of the horse with which humans acquire the Bagre medicine from another group (W. 5353 ff.). The twenty stands for twenty thousand.

2728. *n mang fu tã no de*, I think that perhaps you took it; *al tã wa yi*, perhaps because of that. *Kaapay* (L D.) is another way of translating 'perhaps'.

2803. The rattle made from a bottle-shaped gourd is used for purposes of ritual communication, rather like the bell.

2807. The songs are standard Bagre songs, taught to the neophytes.

2817. That is, a hundred cowries. But this stands for 100,000.

2822. The stick refers to a man who might be listening.

2823. The flat roofs of these compounds are supported by strong posts dug into the ground. If these are crooked, the house may fall.

2826. This is the goatskin bag, like an ordinary bag a man carries on his shoulder, in which an initiate always takes his gear.

2834. This song represents the central belief of the neophytes at this stage. Later they are disillusioned.

2841. *Ba bng* (or *bõ*) *gu* usually means, 'they failed to understand' (i.e. they did not know), but here it means 'they are fed up'.

2847. A song sung as they re-enter the room. You have to bend to avoid hitting your head.

2854. Then the witch can no longer attack; she cannot eat flesh without her teeth.

2871. A more usual form is *de gbeliir* (pl.).

2874. *Par* or *pule*, at the foot of, would be more usual.

2886. First rattles, then bells are used to try and revive the recumbent neophytes.

2921. The original man (*to*, a word I have sometimes translated as 'companion' or 'fellow') is identified in the current proceedings with the persons conducting the Bagre. He has returned with the beings of the wild, for the ceremony cannot be performed without him (1490).

2950. The tempter beings, having pretended to be God, admit his omnipotence.

2978. The original is 'child', referring to the 'small being of the wild' (W. 2891, 2943). But in the key to the Black Bagre, a difference is made; the thieving god (*ngmin naayuo*) is the being's child (*kɔntɔmbie*), while the lying god (*ngmin gagara*) is the small being (*kɔntɔmble*). See B. 5263-8.

3046. At this phase of the ceremonies the neophytes are often physically separated from other people, being assembled on a piece of open ground away from the compounds.

3104. The list here is different from the earlier account of the elder brother's session with the diviner; note that deities (*ngmin*) are attached

to individuals (like the Tallensi *yin*, Fortes 1949: 227 ff.) as well as to categories.

3167. A sense of dependence on the Bagre medicine is aroused in the neophytes by the account of the earlier killing, when their predecessors could be revived only by the direct intervention of the 'child' of the being of the wild. This is why they had to retrace their steps through the maze of ceremony in order to see where they had made an error.

3189. The flat surface of the clearing is compared to the rooftop where crops are normally threshed. But the sites of old ant hills which can be cleared to form a cement-like surface, are sometimes used for outdoor threshing.

3197. Loosened the germinating grain by uprooting it. They take some grains of guinea corn, put them in a container (nowadays a bottle) and say that they will change them into something else. Secretly they substitute some malted grain and display it to those present (1498).

3203-4. K. G. suggests the insertion of a line: *ti ba tu ala*.

3211. The stool (*ko*) is used by the reciter and also for the neophytes.

3282. *Sɔ̃* or *sɔ̃ng* (high tone), time; with a low tone, to spoil (vb.). *Bɔ̃r* (high), want, find; *bɔ̃r* (low), Bagre (adj. form, *bɔ̃*, but I have usually rendered this *bo*, which also occurs).

3302. From the Hausa. The LoDagaa is *maal fõ*.

3312. A more usual word for hunter is *nakpaana*; I have been told that the *nabɔl* is less expert than the *nakpaana* (1502).

3338. This passage emphasizes the fact that Bagre cuts right across kinship ties; indeed it provides a temporary substitute because, for the duration of the ceremony, the neophytes are under the care of the Bagre 'mother' and 'father' rather than their own. It is to the Bagre elders (for whom kin terms are sometimes used) that the obligations otherwise owed to close kin are now due. And the neophytes are now propelled into a wider sphere of social action, though this cannot be seen as an intrinsic part of the developmental process since many of the neophytes are either too young or too old; in any case a fair number of people are never initiated. The neophytes are propelled into the society of Bagre members, but kinship and association membership overlap, and the final solution takes both into account.

The other point to emerge is that the distribution of meat emphasizes the bilaterality of kinship as well as the unilineality of descent, for both mother and father are allocated their share. A hind leg (*gber*) is the father's share in most distributions; and the fillet (*sie*) goes to the mother ('the waist' is where a woman suffers in childbirth and in menstruation). See Goody 1962: 174 for a parallel distribution of funeral meat, the flesh of the Cow of the Rooftop.

3398. *Walhala*, from the Hausa.

3406. As at a funeral, where it is a case of 'taking out the dream' (Goody

1962: 129 ff.), the neophytes are sent on a hunt. A hunt forms part of many ceremonies in West Africa (e.g. the Den festival of Senyon Kupo in Gonja). Here the meat is used to prepare a special meal; a neophyte's first kill after joining belongs to the society, though this obligation applies only to certain animals.

3504. Collecting the malt (*kɛi wuur*) precedes every ceremony.

3562. *Sãã* (high tone), to mash; *sãã* (low), father.

3587. *Yaa*, scoop; *yaana*, take out of water; *yana*, be tired (through work), giving rise to the regular greeting *yani*, *yani*.

3692. The wild animals having been specified, the same is now done with the crops and livestock associated with Bagre.

3721. The night will be only for the brave.

3751. 'Two-faced': lit. having two bellies, being a witch. Only those who have neglected the instructions but failed to confess will be harmed. The medicine kills all, but revives those who have confessed or not sinned.

3786. The calabash is normally kept in the byre.

3800. It is a recurrent story that people trying to learn about Bagre kill their neophytes with clubs.

3845. *Wõ* implies that they were forced by internal pressure to confess: *o wõrena*, he talks without wanting to. K. G. suggests the insertion of a line, *ti yel*.

3869. A branch of the *yolingpuo* tree.

3949. The leather bottle is given to second-graders and is used for divining.

3970. The big fowl's egg refers to the gourd.

4030. The medicine kills and brings to life again. It is as dangerous as a large animal.

4038. The xylophone is played at every gathering, and there is a special kind for playing Bagre songs, the *Bo gyil* or *Lo gyil prumo* (Goody 1956: 23).

4066. These are more threatening animals than the elephant and hippopotamus.

4073. These are throwing-sticks used to bring down birds and small animals; *gbulu* is a large stick used for dancing and for stunning cows before they are slaughtered (also *gulang*).

4080. *We*, to rot away; figuratively to be lost, abandoned, i.e. *tengaan yiina fu pur*, *a la so ka fu we*, the Earth shrine has stopped following you, that's why you are lost.

4096. The *bo kɔɔra*, at this point the *bo lonluwe*, the Bagre joking partner, will sit on the stool.

4125. Darkness, confinement, fasting, noise, and threats all serve to

induce a state of fear, which gives way to relief; both induce a sense of dependence.

4180. The neophytes are told to lie down by their guides.

4189. The members hold the neophytes as they fall; then they touch them with the backs of their hands to see if they are warm.

4263. 'The things of the beings' are the bells (or possibly the rattles).

4300. *Man*, consult openly (or narrate); *mul*, consult secretly (also a children's game of hide and seek); *waali*, whisper.

4308. You try to reverse the process of 'killing', presumably by using the same medicine.

4320. The guides also have to observe prohibitions on their behaviour, but much more limited than those for the neophytes.

4342. The child of the being of the wild previously woke them in the same way.

4355. So involved are the members in their Bagre performances that they fail to pasture their livestock or sleep with their wives.

4377. The realization that the neophytes have not really been killed and revived has to be kept from non-members.

4403. Bagre helps people succeed in their various occupations.

4415. If you are called upon to perform Bagre and fail to do so, your house will be ruined. This fate was said to have overtaken the house of Diiyir in Kyaa.

4438. Provision is made for new members to learn to recite the text of Bagre. In some parts, they hand a cow's tail to the one who should take over the recitation (1534).

4444. Oil Bagre is somewhat different from the form (*Bo pla*) which makes use of whitewash instead of shea oil.

4477. The long room (*kyaara*) is the main room of the house and the one where the rites are performed.

4499. The opposition between initiates and non-members is constantly stressed both in joking and in limited violence of this kind. The latter are provided with separate food.

4525. When the neophytes have been killed and revived again, their bells are collected by the guides who hide them in the outside wall of the house. The neophytes are then blindfolded and led around the house three times. On the third time round the guide stops both his neophyte, and the senior member who accompanies him, near the place where the bell is hidden and asks them to find it. Here the bells represent the Bagre deity who is believed to descend to each and everyone at this place. Hence the question 'Do you know the place we'll meet (or find) the Bagre?'.

4547. 'Dagaa' is not the usage I would have expected in this context since the Bagre ceremony is more typical of the Lo people to the West.

4560. The Bagre animals are listed here and their role is explained (W. 4581 ff.).

4595. N.B. *mhãã na*, cool; *mana*, the right time.

4613. N.B. *saa ba waari*, during the rains; *saa ba wai*, the rains didn't come.

4680. This phrase imitates the bird's cry and refers to the girls' lateness at the water hole.

4738. *Kpelo* (or *bhelo*) *vaar*, to pluck leaves; *kaara vaar*, to break off a leafy branch.

4803. Kusiele is the name of the patriclan who are joking partners of Kpiele, the clan of the reciter of the present text.

4892. N.B. *bibiir*, children; *bibir*, day.

4896. N.B. *na ngmin*, what? *naangmin*, God.

4962. The Bagre lies are ways of misleading the non-members, reinforcing solidarity by unimportant but communal gestures. But there is constant concern with time throughout the text, with liturgical time, the appropriate moment for the next ceremony.

4963. *Gyingyiri* refers to the tired way people dance on the last day of the 'Bagre Dance'.

4978. The neophytes finally emerge from the room and are swept clean of polluting 'dirt'.

4979. Watch them run, for they have been sitting a long time.

4982. The meaning of this song is obscure. One commentator thought the goat with its bad smell referred to the spectators outside, but the words are distinct; *bura*, goat; *bara*, razor, or male hunting dog. The neophytes have been unable to shave their heads for six weeks and are now shaved with a very sharp razor.

4984. All the neophytes sit down on logs at the entrance to the compound, where they receive gifts from kith and kin, from spouses and lovers.

4991. Guinea fowl are the normal gift from males to females, cocks from males to males.

4997. The beating on the ground is a gesture of respect. The initiates do not keep the gifts for themselves; these go to the guides and others. But the initiates as receivers have to make reciprocal gifts at the ceremonies in which the givers are involved.

5039. *Na* is chief or head; it applies to the foreign chiefs of centralized states and, among the LoDagaa, to the leader in almost any kind of activity.

5044. Or 'you can't stop there' (K. G.).

5056. N.B. *wal piel*, white duiker; *wal piel*, the horse-like roan antelope.

5067. The reference is to the next ceremony, Bagre Bells.

5074-5. This passage is ambiguous. I had first thought 'the other or

separate place' referred to the home of the mother's brothers, often used as a refuge. This would have provided a link with what follows. K. G. thinks this unlikely and offers the present suggestion. It can mean a separate place in terms of the Bagre, or it can refer to 'a separate burial place' accorded to certain categories of wrongdoers (Goody 1962: 142 ff.). I had not myself heard of such a separation taking place in relation to sexual offences, although the compounding of these with the breaking of Bagre prohibitions clearly results in a more heinous sin.

5077. For an analysis of the role of the sister's son, see my paper, 'The mother's brother and the sister's son in West Africa' (1959), reprinted in *Comparative Studies in Kinship* (1969).

5105. This story offers an explanation of matrilineal inheritance, although it is many years since this form of devolution was practised among the LoWiili and then only by a few of the inhabitants of Birifu.

5130. The father could not keep pace with his more vigorous sons.

5235. N.B. *anu*, who (sing.), *tã bolo*, who (pl.); strictly this should be in the plural.

5237. The role of the junior brother is explained in the Black Bagre.

5261. 'God's child' is explained in the Black Bagre (B. 1041 ff., 2285). My reciter declared that 'God's child' was the rain; the reference in 5259 to *ngmina* is also to rain, in his view; others (K. G.) suggest 'sun'.

5314. Black Bagre is recited when the Bagre begins, but not before the neophytes.

5337. That is, uncertain.

5371. 'Three years' is a standard expression for a long time. The reference is to the younger brother. A sojourn in the wilds is the usual way in which new shrines and ritual techniques are learnt (see R. S. Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti*, London, 1927, pp. 38 ff.).

5397. The payments for learning Bagre are the property of the beings of the wild.

5478. *Weri*, referring to the beings of the wild (pl., *wio*, sing., hunting).

5594. Although they speak of a vat (*sing*), the pot used for the ceremony is always a very small one.

5613. A return to the central theme of the Black Bagre.

5714. A further hunt is organized (see W. 3409).

5811. Bekuone and Yongyuole are the two other clans found in Birifu.

5867. The general problem here is that the sexual restrictions and joint ceremonies of Bagre may raise difficulties for a conjugal relationship; nor are the possibilities confined to those laid out here, for any diviner may declare, when consulted, that *Bo wen* is the cause. An example that occurred when I was in the area concerned the daughter of Dire, 'headman' of Kyaa, who had married into Depep's house (the Maale 'headman'). She returned to her father's house to become a neophyte and was sent

back to her husband straight after Bagre Bells. But instead she went to Namoo of Naayili that very day, when the Bagre had hardly finished, and remained there as his wife. Depep was very angry with his in-laws, for if you give someone your wife to look after (*kyiine*), you expect her back. The responsibilities of a guide (*bokyini*) are very much in people's minds, especially when they are not observed. A fellow clansman of Dapla's looked after his wife in the Bagre ceremonies but took her back to his own house afterwards; again the death of Malka's sister was attributed to her having slept with her guide. It would be better, I was told, if female neophytes were looked after by their own husbands (or by other women, though this is not possible).

5881. N.B. *bo gu*, can't find; *bõ gu*, don't know.

5956. That is, when she becomes pregnant.

6003. Again Bagre may reverse the normal order of ranking. Seniority in terms of membership of the association overrides seniority due to age.

6053. This passage is very revealing both about human relations and concepts of the supreme God.

6084. The parallels with Middle Eastern concepts of the godhead are close. The one who was sent is the Bagre god.

6089. 'The first men' (*dcungdem*) are differentiated from people's ancestors, (*kpime*). There are four main time levels indicated by reference to the people who lived in them: (i) *diongdem*, or *dcungdem*, are 'the first men', i.e. the elder and younger 'brother'; (ii) *tengkuridem*, 'people of the old country' (or the past) I have translated as forefathers, whereas *kpime*, 'ancestors', are all 'the dead'; (iii) *sããkum mine*, 'grandfathers', referring to ascendants who were earlier inhabitants of their present habitat; (iv) the present.

6122. Grammatically this would be clearer as *ti i a bo*, etc.

6128. That is, the Black Bagre.

6131. That is, we say to all present.

6133. *Kpo* is to knock the leather bottle (*gan*) and loosen the cowries, so that one can shake them out one by one to know the truth. In the recital of the Bagre, the initiates shake out all the cowries three times as a final gesture. So that the phrase in effect means 'let's close the meeting' (*kpo gyel* is to break an egg; *kpoor libie wu puo*, to empty money from the bag).

THE BLACK BAGRE

TRANSLATION

In the beginning was god,
the god of the initiates,
and their gods,
the god who comes,
the god with the mark between
the eyes,
the god with white and black
stripes,
the god with the white arse,
the thieving god,
the lying god,
the troubling god. 10
He was always troubling that
one
in the big byre,
that man and the younger one.
Look at the younger one,
the thoughtful one.
He hurries out
of the big byre's door
and takes the path.
He sees something.
What is it? 20
It is *Base*,
against a wall.
So he greets it,
greets it softly,
and when he has done so,
he then sets off
on a meandering path.
He walks along
and quickly reaches
the river bank, 30
where he sees something.

It's a large canoe,
with a smaller one,
which he greets softly.
When he has done so,
he sees the reeds
which he also greets.
When he has done so,
he sees a person.
What sort of person? 40
It's a river person,
carrying a small quiver.
He sees a woman
who is wearing leaves.
He greets them both,
greets them softly,
and they showed him
something.
What sort of thing?
Do you see that stone
which he shows him? 50
When he has done so,
he shows him the canoe
which he begins to enter.
When he has done so,
the large canoe
begins to move.
Then fear
got hold of him.
What does he do?
He asks what to do 60
and is then shown.
What is he shown?
He takes a stick
and begins to throw it.

He takes a stick		On the river bank	
which he quickly throws to him;		there was an old man	
he takes a small stick		with a pipe.	
and shows him		Do you see the dogs?	
how to paddle.		When they see someone,	
He begins to move,	70	they try to bite him.	110
moves the boat		The old man	
and sees the way		calls them to heel	
to cross the river.		and they make no noise.	
He gets across		See the younger one	
and when he has done so,		starting to greet,	
he puts his small left hand		greeting softly.	
into his bag		The old man answers,	
to take out some string.		and when he has done so,	
When he has done so,		he then asks me	
he sees something else.	80	what I want.	120
He sees an axe		And I tell him	
hanging on his shoulder.		that the affairs of God	
He takes it		trouble me greatly.	
and sees some leaves		The old man	
on a slender tree.		spoke again,	
He cuts this down,		'What can I do?'	
and when he has done so,		God's affairs	
into the river bank		bring great suffering.	
he knocks it.		What shall I do?	
When he has done so,	90	I was going out	130
he sees something else		but I saw something	
on the river bank.		in the dark wood.	
What sort of thing?		Then I saw a being child	
A croaking frog		and began to run.	
which he greets,		They started to call,	
greets softly.		they called out to me	
When he has done so,		and when they'd done so,	
he starts to climb up		they spoke and asked me	
and catches some vines,		what I wanted.	
tugging at them gently.	100	And I told them	140
He hurries up		that the affairs of God	
and saw something else.		began to trouble me;	
It was a reed,		they troubled me greatly,	
which he greets softly.		me and the elder one.	

They overpowered me,
 put me on the path
 and I entered the woods.
 For many days
 I hurried here.
 They overpowered me 150
 and I came here.
 He finished speaking
 and the being children
 turned and caught him.
 They held him gently
 and made him sit.
 When they'd done so
 they took some guinea corn
 and showed it him.
 'Do you know this?' 160
 'No, I don't.'
 And they told him
 it was food.
 Do you see the being child
 begin to eat it?
 He did eat it
 and found it pleasing.
 Do you see the man
 dipping his hand in,
 beginning to eat, 170
 putting the food in his mouth,
 starting to chew?
 Does it please you?
 He said it does so.
 So he spoke
 and when he'd done so,
 the being child
 told him
 to stop
 and they'd bring some flour. 180
 They brought some
 and he asked them,
 'What's that?
 Is it ashes?'

He was told
 to sit and watch.
 He sat there
 while the being child
 fetched some water,
 poured it on the flour, 190
 and began to mix it.
 When he'd done so,
 he took out his hand,
 began to lick it,
 and it tasted good.
 Then the being child
 said to him,
 'Eat and see'.
 He began to eat
 and when he'd done so, 200
 he said,
 'It's true.'
 [The being] asked him
 if he knew about guinea corn.
 He answered, 'No',
 and asked
 'What made guinea corn?'
 and they replied,
 'God created guinea corn.'
 When they had spoken, 210
 what did he do?
 He took a stone,
 took it,
 and then took something else.
 What sort of thing?
 It is iron.
 He broke the stone
 and found the ore.
 This he took
 and began to leave. 220
 He went off
 and reached his house.
 He got there
 and showed the man:

'Do you see that?'		When he has finished,	
When he'd shown him,		he takes a funnel	
what did he do?		and puts it in the middle.	
He told him		When he has done so,	
to watch well,		he takes some earth	
so he did so.	230	and pours on water.	270
He took the stone,		When he has done so,	
took some logs,		he takes a hoe.	
took all these		When he has done so,	
and piled them together.		he mixes the swish.	
He took the ore,		When he has finished,	
the iron ore,		what does he do?	
and stacked it on top.		He plasters the iron	
He sees more [wood]		until it is covered,	
and piles it on.		and takes some earth	
He fires the wood—	240	and begins to build.	280
'What made fire?'		When he has done so	
He took a stone,		he builds a chimney.	
a white stone,		When he has done so	
and another small one.		he takes a skin.	
Do you see the kapok?		When he has done so	
He puts this between them		he begins to get up.	
and holds the big stone		When he has done so	
in his hand.		he puts his left hand	
He hits them together,		into the granary,	
and when he does so,	250	takes out some string	290
see the spark		and begins to fasten [the	
that lights the kapok.		bellows].	
The younger one		When he has done so	
felt afraid.		what does he do?	
What's this thing?		He calls his son	
As he watched,		to come quickly	
[the being] took the fire.		and sit there	
See the grasses		so they can start.	
catching fire.		He sat there	
He takes these	260	and watched quietly.	
to the large logs		Then he told the boy	300
and puts them underneath.		to press the bellows,	
Do you see what		so he pressed till they hissed.	
he is building?		He told the boy	

that he should try hard.
 When he had done so,
 do you see the iron?
 The iron reddened
 and he took it out.
 He took his hammer
 and began to beat it.
 When he beat it,
 he did so in vain.
 What did he do?
 The small being
 then told him
 he would put it back.
 He put it back
 and when he had finished,
 he tried again
 and the iron reddened.
 When it had reddened,
 he began to beat it.
 When he had done so,
 what did he do?
 The affairs of God
 bring great suffering.
 What did he do?
 He beat it flat.
 What did he do?
 He took his hammer
 and put it down.
 When he had done so,
 with his hand
 he grasped the iron.
 The small being
 thought to himself
 and then spoke,
 'Do you see that thing?'
 'What is it?'
 'A little iron rod.'
 He took this [rod]
 and bent it by beating.
 When he had done so,

the small being
 showed him
 how to hold it.
 He took
 the iron.
 When he had done so,
 he told him
 to pick up his hammer.
 When he had done so,
 he told him
 to raise it up.
 When he had done so,
 he began to smite
 and smote gently.
 When he had done so,
 see the boy,
 he was told
 to take up the sliver of iron.
 He did so
 and gave a name
 to this piece of iron.
 He called it 'chisel'.
 He chiselled to try it
 and when he'd done so,
 he chiselled softly.
 When he'd finished,
 he took the hammer
 and began to strike,
 to strike till it bent.
 When he had done so,
 the left-handed one
 laughed softly.
 The younger one
 sat quietly
 and watched.
 He watched
 and said, 'That's why
 the elder one
 suffers greatly.'
 [The being] took the hoe

and fixed a handle by driving it in. When he had done so, he showed the younger one how to pick it up. So he took it. The affairs of God bring great suffering. What did he do? The small being told him to bend down. He did so, and he showed him how to hold the hoe. He held the hoe, held it gently, then he showed him how to bend right down. He did so, and he told him to cut the earth. The affairs of God pass understanding. The younger one then asked the small being to take the hoe, cut the earth, and make a farm. When he had cut the earth's surface and made a mound, he took some guinea corn and began to plant. When he'd done so, some time later, see God's child? He came there and began to laugh.	<p>390</p> <p>400</p> <p>410</p> <p>420</p>	<p>When he finished, the small being asked him, 'Why are you laughing?' And he replied, 'It's the affairs of God I'm laughing about.' Then the younger one began to think, sat silently and saw what to do. He then said he would greet his great-grandfather, and his guardian and his ancestors and the Earth shrines. This was the matter that made him speak. He began to get up and when he'd done so, he spoke again, greeting the Earth shrine, greeting god, greeting the ancestors, greeting the guardian, greeting the beings. When he'd done this, he saw something of great importance. Earth and rain, the rain is male and the earth is female. When the time comes, see the rain; its penis rises and bursts forth. See the earth, a fully grown maiden, who is about to bear.</p>	<p>430</p> <p>440</p> <p>450</p> <p>460</p>
---	---	---	---

A slender tree
 is brought forth.
 It is the earth's child
 that is born.
 That old man
 laughed softly.
 When he had done so,
 the younger one
 came back
 and now asked,
 'What shall I do?
 The affairs of God
 bring great suffering.'
 And he was told
 that the slender tree,
 he must grasp
 and climb up quickly
 to God's house.
 He grasped the tree
 but couldn't climb it
 and fell on his back.
 Then the spider
 galloped over
 with his feet flying
 and said that
 the great man
 should sit on the ground.
 He sat a while,
 he sat quietly.
 And the spider
 took out some rope,
 put it round his waist,
 and then said
 the great man
 should grasp the rope.
 When he had done so,
 he spoke again,
 'To God's house
 we'll climb.'
 They began to climb

to God's house.
 The old man
 was lying there.
 They saw him
 on a cow's hide.
 They reached the place
 and began to greet him,
 'Good day.'
 Do you see the dog?
 It's a huge dog,
 with a leopard
 and a lion
 and an elephant
 and a duiker
 and a hippopotamus
 in a small pond.
 See the hippopotamus.
 That old man
 in his wisdom
 turned and said
 that our ancestor
 should come forward.
 When he came,
 he took some earth,
 and pressed it together.
 When this was done,
 he spoke again
 and called a young girl,
 a slender girl,
 to come there too.
 She came over,
 and when she had done so,
 he told her
 to take a pot.
 She took it,
 and stood up with it.
 Then he told her
 to look for okro
 to bring to him.
 He chose a piece,

put it in his mouth,		and scraped at the earth.	
chewed it to bits,		See the child	
spat them out		crying there quietly.	
into the pot.		What shall I do?	
He did all this.		The affairs of God	
Do you see the man?		bring great suffering.	
That old man	550	And he told	590
told him		the woman	
to mix the earth.		they should hurry back	
When this was done,		to God's house	
the slender girl		and God	
he instructed		then asked	
to pour the okro water		our ancestor,	
over the earth.		'Whose child is it?'	
When he had spoken [to her],		See the child,	
he told the man		how he resembles	
to take his left hand	560	the great man.	600
and plunge it in the earth.		He laughed softly	
When he had done so,		and when he had done so,	
he told him		he asked,	
to withdraw his hand,		'What is this?'	
and he did so.		And he replied,	
'Then what did he do?'		'It's a child.'	
He told him		'Who owns the child?'	
to come nearer.		The old man	
He did so.		then said,	
A tom cat	570	'You own the child.'	610
and his mate		'Where did I get it?'	
started to get up.		He replied,	
The old man		'You begot the child.'	
told them to lie down		The younger one	
and keep quiet.		asked again,	
A male fly		'How did I do so?'	
and his mate		The old man	
who came there		laughed softly.	
shat on top.		When he had done so,	
Two days later	580	he asked,	620
the tom cat		'What shall I do?'	
and his mate		See the woman,	
hurried there		the slender girl,	

who hurries over
 and says,
 'In that case,
 don't I own the child?'
 The old man
 asked her,
 'Well, where did you get it?' 630
 The slender girl
 thought to herself
 and spoke again,
 'My okro water
 I poured out
 over the earth.
 It was from inside there
 you took out the child.'
 The old man
 replied that 640
 the slender girl
 should hurry over.
 She reached the place,
 in front of the old man.
 The old man
 called his wife,
 a wise old woman,
 who came out
 to do her work.
 What work [was that]? 650
 She broke off some leaves
 and when she'd done so,
 she instructed
 the slender girl
 to do the same.
 She picked up the child.
 When she had done so,
 what did she do?
 She began to carry it,
 and when she had done so, 660
 she started to walk
 along the road.
 The wise old woman

told her
 not to hurry.
 Didn't she know
 that the blood
 remained in her belly?
 The slender girl
 began to laugh 670
 and asked her,
 'What kind of blood?'
 And she replied,
 'Wait till we get home.'
 They reached there
 and began to sit down.
 When they had done so,
 the wise old woman
 knew what to do;
 she told 680
 a young girl
 to take a large pot
 and put it on the fire.
 She put it there
 and filled it with water.
 The wise old woman
 got some leafy branches
 and broke them in bits.
 When she had done so,
 she put them in the large 690
 pot.
 She lit the fire,
 and when she had done so,
 what did she do?
 The fire blazed up,
 and they took the leaves,
 turned them over,
 and when they had done so,
 [the pot] was now boiling.
 The wise old woman
 went out quickly, 700
 called the slender girl
 to lay the child down.

She laid it down
and hurried over.
The wise old woman
poured the water
from off the leaves
and took some kapok,
dipped it in
and quickly pressed
the slender girl
on her groin.

She pummelled it
and the slender girl
saw something.
The wise old woman
knew the truth.
Do you see the blood
coming out?

The slender girl
became
afraid
and exclaimed,
'Why is it
the blood comes
out of my belly?'
The wise old woman
asked her, saying,
'That child,
where did you get it?'
And she replied,
'Out of the earth
that we dug up
and there was the child.'

[The old woman] told her,
'From your own belly
I took the child.
You and who
dug for the child?'
And she replied,
'I and a certain man.
He is called

the younger one.
We are the people
to whom the old man
allotted
this small task.
It was God
in his wisdom [told us]
to collect some earth,
and told us
to collect some okro.
We brought this to him,
and he took the okro,
chewed it in bits
and spat it in a pot.
We poured in water,
and emptied it over the earth.
The male cat
saw us
and began to get up.
Our old man
clicked his tongue
to silence it,
then did this again
so it lay down quietly.
When it had done so,
he told us
to pour and mix [the okro
and earth].
When we had done so,
we turned and left.
A male fly
and his mate,
with all their cunning,
came there
and began to play.
When they had done so,
the male cat
came along
and scraped [the earth].
When he had done so,

710

750

720

760

730

770

740

780

he saw the child.
 The old man
 sat there holding it.
 I went to him
 and saw a man.
 It was the younger one.
 I greeted him,
 and saw the child.
 So I thought to myself
 and began to joke,
 saying that the child
 belonged to me.
 Wise old woman,
 I took the child,
 brought it here,
 and you told me
 how I should
 break off some leaves.
 When you had broken
 them,
 we started to leave
 and you told me
 not to hurry,
 because I wasn't aware
 there was blood
 in my belly.
 It was the truth
 you told me.
 Because now
 I see the blood.
 Do I own the child,
 or does the younger one?'
 The wise old woman
 then told her
 to rest a while.
 She did so,
 and her belly healed.
 What did she do?
 The affairs of God
 bring great suffering.

790

800

810

820

One day
 see how the younger one
 passes by
 to the house of his friend.
 At this time
 the child
 was walking along.
 The younger one
 came back
 and retraced his steps. 830
 The child saw
 the younger one
 and began to cry
 to be taken along.
 The child's mother
 he then asked,
 'Whose child is it?'
 And the mother
 replied,
 'I own the child.' 840
 And the younger one
 then said,
 'I own the child'—
 about the same child.
 The wise old woman
 hurried there.
 They made so much noise
 that the wise old woman
 hurried to see.
 She ordered them 850
 to stop quarrelling.
 They did so
 and she asked the girl,
 the slender girl,
 'Who owns the child?'
 'I own it,
 but the younger one
 wants to snatch it.'
 And she asked him,
 'Why do you do this?' 860

And he replied,
'I own the child.'
The wise old woman
laughed loudly
and said
that one child
is causing two people
to quarrel.
'Wait a while
so that I can go 870
to the cow's hide
where that old man
is lying.'
They reached the place
and the wise old woman
began to greet him,
'Good day.'
The old man
returned her greeting.
When he had done so, 880
he asked,
'Is it fear [that brings you]?'
'No, no,
it isn't fear.
It's about that child
we have come
to see you.'
The old man
told them
to keep calm. 890
And he asked
the slender girl,
'What caused this quarrel?'
And she replied,
'The child is mine
but the younger one
wants to snatch it.
'That's the cause.'
He laughed loudly
and when he had done so, 900

he began to ask
the younger one,
'What caused this quarrel?'
And the younger one
too replied,
'The child is mine
and the slender girl
wants to snatch it.
'That's the cause.'
The old man 910
laughed loudly
and said,
'Slender girl,
where did you get the child?'
And the slender girl
answered,
'I got it here.'
And he asked
the younger one,
'Where did you get the
child?' 920
And he said,
'I got it on the road.'
He told them
to wait a while.
They waited silently,
and when they'd done so,
he began to ask
the slender girl,
'Where did you get the child?'
How is it 930
you own the child?'
Again he asked
the slender girl
and again she said,
'I own the child.'
Once again he asked,
'Where did you get it?'
And she replied
it was she got the okro.

'You took it,
 chewed it in bits
 and put them in the pot.
 I poured it
 over some earth
 which turned into a child.'
 'Who owns the earth?'
 The slender girl
 kept quiet.
 What did he do?
 He asked the child,
 'Who owns you?'
 And that child
 laughed quietly
 and replied,
 'My father
 is the younger one.'
 'How is it,'
 he asked him,
 'that you know
 your father
 is the younger one?'
 See the child
 who laughs quietly
 and begins to run.
 He runs over
 and grasps the man
 around his thighs.
 The younger one
 laughed softly.
 The old man
 asked him again,
 'Who owns the child?'
 And he too said,
 'I own the child.'
 'How is it
 that you know
 you own the child?'
 And he replied,
 'There I stood,

940 when the spider, 980
 my brother,
 galloped over
 with his feet flying.
 The time arrived,
 and a great thing,
 a black cloud
 filled with rain,
 burst forth
 on to the earth
 950 which became pregnant 990
 and gave birth
 to a slender tree.
 Weighty matters
 troubled me.
 What could I do
 on this earth?
 I sought in vain,
 thought to myself,
 and I decided
 960 that I'd climb up 1000
 to God's house.
 So then I grasped
 the earth's child,
 that slender tree.
 I began to climb
 but tried in vain
 and fell on my back.
 It was the spider,
 my brother,
 970 galloped over 1010
 with his legs flying
 took out some rope,
 tied it round his waist,
 and told me
 to take hold.
 I began to climb,
 caught hold of the rope
 and he pulled me up
 till we arrived

at God's house.	1020	When he had finished,	1060
The old man		we began to leave.	
[lay] on the cow's hide		A male fly [and his mate]	
and we greeted,		came there;	
"Good day."		they played their games	
He returned the greeting		and when they'd done so,	
and when he had done so,		they began to leave.	
he asked me		A male cat	
what I wanted.		and his mate	
And I said,		came there;	
"Everything,	1030	they scraped away the earth	1070
that's what I want."		and took the child	
He showed me		from out of my earth.	
the being's child.		That is how	
I saw him		I know	
when he showed me.		the child is mine.'	
At God's house,		The old man	
the old man		laughed loudly	
on the cow's hide		and knew what to do.	
asked me		He took a stalk of grass,	
many questions.	1040	removed the pith	1080
I answered him		and gave it to the man.	
and when I had done so,		He took another	
he told me		and gave it to the woman,	
to stand there		having done the same.	
and start to hoe.		When he had done so,	
When I did so,		he told them	
a small mound		to look at an object,	
I heaped up.		at a small bowl.	
In all his wisdom,		'You, woman,	
he called a girl,	1050	you claim	1090
a slender girl,		the child is yours.'	
to bring a pot.		She agreed,	
She brought it		'The child is mine.'	
and the old man		Then he asked the man,	
took some okro,		the younger one,	
chewed it in bits,		'Whose is the child?'	
spat them in a pot,		He also replied	
put in some water		the child was his.	
and poured it on my earth.		So he told	

the slender girl	1100	A bitter argument	1140
to urinate		ensued between you	
down the stalk.		and has continued.	
'Don't let it		You are the man	
splash about.'		who left his village.	
So she pissed		Great trouble	
but it splashed about.		troubled him	
When she stopped,		and he hurried up	
he told the man,		to God's place.	
to urinate		I, the great man,	
down the stalk.	1110	helped him	1150
'Don't let it		to find a child,	
splash about.'		that child there.	
The man pissed		It belongs to him.'	
and it all went in.		He took the child	
When this happened,		and gave it to the younger one	
he said,		who hurried down,	
'Slender girl,		down to the Earth.	
you took the pot		What did he do?	
and when you brought it,		At last he reached	
you saw a person	1120	his father's house.	1160
with a hoe,		What did he do?	
who hoed the earth.		Many problems	
I own the okro,		troubled him.	
and in my wisdom		He took the child,	
poured it on top.		showed the guardian,	
The younger one		showed the gods,	
begins to mix it.		showed the Earth shrine,	
When he had done so		showed the ancestors.	
you all went away.		When he had done so,	
When you had gone,	1130	look at the child.	1170
a male fly		The time has come.	
and his mate		Earth and rain	
came there.		know their business.	
When they had played,		[A cloud] burst forth	
a male cat		and the land was wet.	
and his mate		He took a hoe	
came there.		and began to leave	
They scraped away the earth		for the farm.	
and took out the child.		What did he do?	

The younger one	1180	When he had done so,	1220
hurried out		he then went out.	
and saw the child		He saw the path,	
with his hoe.		the meandering path.	
He was pleased,		He hurried to reach	
and asked the child,		the diviner's house.	
'What is this?'		The dog barked	
He replied		and he hushed it.	
'Isn't it a hoe?'		The dog was quiet	
and told him		and he asked the man,	
he was going to farm.	1190	'Is it fear?'	1230
The child's father		And he replied,	
laughed softly		'It's about my son	
and said		whom I brought down	
that's what he wanted.		from God's house.	
He said this		I hurried down	
and walked away.		and the rains had come	
Just then a scorpion		and he started to hoe.	
bit the child.		Then a scorpion	
The child cried out,		bit the child.'	
and the father	1200	See the slender girl	1240
hurried out		at the diviner's house.	
and asked the child		She rushed out,	
'Why are you crying?'		out of the doorway.	
It was a scorpion		The younger one	
that bit the child.		saw the woman,	
Fear gripped		recognized her,	
the younger one.		greeted her	
He took some guinea corn,		and greeted the diviner.	
took his bag,		When he had done so,	
took his quiver,	1210	the woman said,	1250
took his bow,		'Where are you going?'	
took his axe,		And he said,	
and rushed out,		'It's my child.	
out of the doorway.		A scorpion	
See the guinea corn		bit him.	
in his hand.		It was fear	
He showed the ancestors,		that seized me	
and the guardians,		and I came along	
and the gods.		to the diviner's house.'	

The slender girl
 laughed loudly
 and then said,
 'That child,
 what is
 he called?'
 He laughed softly
 and replied,
 'My child
 is called
 Napolo.'
 The slender girl
 said, 'Well,
 then it's my child.
 Where did you find
 that Napolo?'
 And he said
 she should wait a while
 and keep quiet.
 The diviner
 took down his bag,
 stroked his head,
 took his axe
 and his quiver
 and his bow,
 put them at his feet.
 When he had done so,
 he put his hand
 in his bag,
 took out something
 and then asked
 the younger one,
 'Shall I put it down?'
 The younger one
 laughed loudly
 and told him
 to take it out.
 When he'd done so,
 he put in his hand,
 brought out something;

1260 it was a bell. 1300
 When he had done this,
 a male figure
 and a female,
 he took out
 and placed on the ground.
 Then he told
 the younger one
 to look at the ground.
 He looked there.
 1270 Then he told him 1310
 to look at the leather bottle.
 He looked at it,
 and when he had done so,
 [the diviner] said
 he would pause a while.
 He did so,
 then he took the bottle
 and knocked the neck.
 When he'd done so,
 1280 he told him 1320
 to look at the ground.
 He did so
 and asked the bottle,
 'Why is it
 that at dawn
 my friend here
 came to see me?'
 The bottle
 then replied,
 1290 'It is the deity.' 1330
 He asked
 'Which deity?
 The grandfather's deity?
 The grandmother's deity?
 The brother's deity?
 The daughter's deity?
 The deity of the wilds?
 The being's deity?
 The deity of childbirth?

The deity of meetings?’	1340	There is <i>Base</i> ,	1380
At this it agreed.		the owner of the house.	
See the younger one		He greeted them again.	
who spoke, saying,		When he had done so,	
‘Is that what		he hurried out.	
was going		The affairs of God!	
to kill my son?’		He saw the path,	
He began to greet		the meandering path,	
and then got up.		the path to his father’s house.	
He got up slowly		He started off	
and began to go.	1350	and hurried along	1390
At the doorway		the road to the house.	
he met some mat weavers,		What shall I do?	
and some reed gatherers,		He sat down,	
and some firewood collectors		sat quietly	
and some girls		and began to call	
and some little boys.		to his child	
He greeted them all		to come there.	
and when he had done so,		He hurried out,	
he saw the path		came out quietly.	
and started off.	1360	‘Who’s calling me?’,	1400
See the object,		the boy	
the being’s bag,		begins to ask,	
which asked him,		‘Who’s calling me?’	
‘Why did you		When he asked,	
greet my master		the boy’s father	
and not greet me?’		spoke to him, saying,	
So he sat down quietly		‘It’s me that’s calling.’	
and began to greet.		‘What shall I do?’	
The bag answered,		Some time later,	
answered softly,	1370	the slender girl	1410
and he went to the path,		walked down the path,	
started to leave,		the main path,	
but saw something else.		and was passing by	
What was that?		when the boy	
In the byre		saw his mother	
there’s the ancestors		and called out	
and the guardians		‘Mother,	
and the deity		where are you going?’	
and the beings.		The boy’s mother	

replied,
 'I'm not going anywhere,
 just passing by.'
 And the boy
 ran over
 to his father's side
 and said [to him],
 'It's my mother.'
 The boy's father
 asked him,
 'Where does she come
 from?'
 and he replied,
 'I don't know.
 A woman passed
 and I know
 she's my mother.'
 The boy's father
 said [to him],
 'You have no mother'.
 The boy
 laughed softly
 and asked his father,
 'Have you seen anyone
 who has no mother
 and yet has a father?'
 The boy's father
 then said,
 'Many problems
 still trouble me
 and I don't yet know [the
 answers].'
 The boy's mother
 was passing by.
 See the boy
 beginning to cry,
 'My mother
 is going by.'
 The boy's father
 became angry.

1420 Again he asked the child,
 'Who is your mother
 that's going by?' 1460
 'My mother
 is the slender girl.'
 The boy's father
 hushed the child.
 The boy's mother
 hurried over
 and when she got there,
 she tried to take him.
 1430 The boy's father
 said to her, 1470
 'I won't give him to you.'
 When he had spoken,
 the boy's mother
 laughed loudly
 and said,
 'Because of the child,
 I can't let the matter drop.'
 But she departed
 1440 and stayed away. 1480
 That boy
 had much sense
 in his head.
 One day
 the younger one
 went outside
 into the woods.
 He saw a being of the wild
 who had a bow,
 a quiver
 1450 and some arrows. 1490
 He greeted him
 and when he had done so,
 the being of the wild
 inquired,
 'What do you want?'
 He replied,
 'You people caught me

and I came to the woods
and you taught me
many things,
but you didn't teach me
about this one thing.
The being of the wild
laughed softly
and then said,
'Let's go home.
Follow me.'
He followed him home
and the being of the wild
told him,
'What you want to make
can be made by children.
See my child.
Sit quietly by him
and he'll make it for you.'
He sat there.
The being's child
got some twine,
his axe
and his knife.
He went to the woods
to cut some sticks,
bamboo for the bow.
When he'd done so,
he tied them together.
When he had done so,
he hurried back
to his father's house.
He dropped the bundle
and when he had done so,
he saw the man,
the younger one.
He took his knife
to cut the bamboo.
He chose one stick
and when he had done so,
he split it into slivers.

When he'd done so,
what did he do?
He began to scrape it,
and when he'd done so,
he took out another
of the bamboo sticks.
When he'd done so,
he took his axe
and began to shape it.
When he'd done so,
he took the fibre,
and laced it together.
When he'd done so,
he stood up
and bent it with his foot,
bent it so it was right,
then fastened the bowstring.
When he'd done so,
he drew the bow
and let it go, ping.
He took the man
and went along
to the blacksmith's house.
When they reached there,
see the small hoe,
see the axe,
a blunted axe.
When they reached
the blacksmith's house,
they began to greet him,
'Good day.'
He answered them
and when he had done so,
he asked him,
'Is it fear [brings you]?'
'Oh no,'
and he said,
'The being of the wild
brought me
and I came along

to your house.		go into the woods.	
I came here		See the stick	
and greeted you.	1580	he cuts and takes.	1620
It's not fear;		He began to show him,	
it's the being's child.		and when he'd done so,	
Yesterday night		he got up,	
I got up,		bent the bow	
went to the woods		and told me	
and began to look		to come along	
for what I needed.		to your house.	
It was medicine		So we came.	
I was looking for.		The problem	
The being of the wild,	1590	I bring to you	1630
I saw him		is the one	
carrying things;		I have just recounted.'	
he was heavily laden,		See the being's child.	
and I said to him,		The being's child	
"What is that?"		took the axe	
And he told me,		and gave it to the smith.	
"That's a quiver,		Then the blacksmith	
and that's a bow."		called his child,	
From his great knowledge		his male child,	
he told me.	1600	who hurried out.	1640
This is what		He told him	
I said to him,		to sit on the ground.	
"You showed me		When he got there,	
many things		he was sent off again;	
at the time		he ran out	
when you caught me,		of the byre door,	
but you didn't show me		and saw something.	
the bow and arrow		It was a dry shea log	
and the quiver."		to which he set fire.	
When he had spoken,	1610	When he had done so,	1650
the being of the wild		the fire blazed up.	
went off		When it did so,	
and led me		the male child	
till we reached		began to think.	
his father's house.		Cold water	
He made his child,		he brought outside;	
a male child,		cold water	

he poured out, all over the fire.		Then he tied on [the skin], and when he had done so,	
When he had done so,	1660	he told his son	1700
he took the charcoal out of the fire and hurried up to his father's place.		to sit on top. He climbed up on top of the forge and he told him to hold the bellows.	
And the smith said to him, 'Wait a while.'		He began to blow and God's breeze came blowing out of the forge's mouth.	
He waited a while and when he had done so, he told the being's child	1670	He pressed the left [bellow];	1710
to bring the axe and the hoe.		it began to blow and God's breeze came blowing out, out of both funnels.	
He brought them along and he took the axe, put it in the fire, took the charcoal and covered the axe.		See the forge. The blacksmith made him blow, and he blew	
When he had done so, the blacksmith called to his son	1680	till the axe got red.	
who hurried over.		He got the tongs	1720
And he told him to climb [on the forge].		and picked it up, placed it gently on top of the anvil and began to strike.	
He climbed up and when he had done so, he took the skin, the skin of a goat, and got out some string from the small granary.		As he struck it, he flattened the iron.	
When he had done so,	1690	When he had done so, he took out his chisel and began to shape it.	
he knelt down and began to tie [the skin].		When he had done so,	1730
When he had done so, he took a pot, broke off the neck, and fixed it on the end of the funnel.		see the reed, the greatest reed. He fixed it on and gave it a name. The name was 'arrow.' The small being	

and the younger one
 took the arrow
 and the bow
 and went home
 to the father's house.
 The small being
 told the younger one
 to take the path
 to his father's house,
 that meandering path;
 the younger one
 started out
 and saw some people,
 beings of the wild.
 He greeted them,
 greeted them softly,
 and when he had done so,
 he took the path
 to his father's house,
 that meandering path.
 He hurried along
 to his father's house.
 See the child,
 the male child,
 run to meet him.
 When he did so,
 the headstrong boy
 saw something
 that his father carried,
 and asked,
 'What is that?'
 The boy's father
 said to him,
 'It is yours.
 Wait till we get home
 and I'll give it you.'
 When they arrived there,
 at the father's house,
 the boy's father
 took the quiver

and the bow.
 When the child
 saw the bow,
 he laughed softly
 and said,
 'That's my father.
 He has brought a bow
 and a quiver.'
 The boy's father
 took the bow
 and went outside
 on top of the midden
 and stood quietly.
 There was a tall okro
 plant;
 he took the bow
 and an arrow
 and began to aim
 at the okro plant.
 The arrow struck
 the tall plant.
 The boy
 saw this,
 laughed softly
 and hurried over
 to his father's side
 and began to cry,
 'Give me the bow
 and the quiver
 and the arrows.'
 The boy's father
 took the bow
 to give the boy.
 The boy grasped the bow,
 took an arrow
 out of the quiver,
 fitted it to the bow
 and began to shoot,
 shot till he'd had enough,
 then began to laugh.

The boy's father left the bow for the child who took it and went inside.	1820	and an arrow. The boy's father lay down to rest and when he had done so, see the boy	1860
The boy's mother, that slender girl, had a broom that she took and began to sweep the main room of the house. She began to sweep and the child took the bow and started to shoot	1830	take the bow and an arrow. Up to his father's balls he went, and at his balls he began to shoot. He shot at them and hit them smack. The boy's father was seized with anger	1870
at his own mother, at the leaves she wore. He hit her smack, and the boy's mother jumped up and beat the child. The boy's father became angry and said, 'Don't you ever beat the boy again.'	1840	and jumped up to beat him. The boy's mother said to him, 'Oh no, don't beat the boy. How long ago was it, how long today, that I hit the boy because he shot me, and you told me	1880
The boy's mother left the child alone. Two days later the boy's father went to his farm in order to hoe, and then came back to his father's house. See the boy with his bow.	1850	not to beat him. When he shot you, did you leave him be?' The boy's father said to her, 'I won't take the child.' And he hurried out, out of the doorway, leaving the child. See the doves at the foot of the mortar, eating guinea corn. See the creature, God's creature, it's a hawk,	1890

that dives down
 and attacks the dove.
 See the dove
 lying there.
 See the child
 running over
 with his bow
 and his arrows.
 He shot till he tired,
 then clicked his tongue
 and when he'd done so,
 he took the dove
 with the arrow in it
 and went over
 to his father's side.
 He said to him,
 'See my dove
 which I shot and killed.'
 The boy's father
 began to laugh
 and beat his chest
 and declared,
 'I begat a child,
 a powerful child.
 One day to come
 he'll give me help.'
 When he had spoken,
 he took the dove
 and began to pluck it.
 He took a leg,
 he took the loins
 and gave them
 to the boy's mother.
 He took a leg
 and kept it himself.
 The boy's mother
 laughed softly
 for she was happy.
 The boy's mother,
 when darkness fell,

asked the father,
 'What shall we do
 to get another child
 in addition,
 so there'll be two?'
 The boy's father
 said to her,
 'The day after tomorrow
 I will go
 to my elder's place,
 to the spider
 who will help us
 to climb up
 to God's place
 and get a child.'
 Day had broken
 and the boy's mother
 went to the woods
 to fetch firewood.
 She searched till she came
 to a well-wooded bank.
 When she got there
 she saw a creature;
 a boa constrictor
 and his mate
 were playing there.
 At this the woman
 broke out laughing.
 The boa constrictor
 called the woman
 to come near
 and he asked her
 why she was laughing.
 And she answered,
 'It's nothing,
 except the playing
 gave me pleasure.
 That's why I laughed.'
 The boa constrictor
 said to her,

1900

1940

1910

1950

1920

1960

1930

1970

'Do you know this pleasure?'		enjoyed it too	
And she replied,		and laughed softly,	
'No, I don't.'		saying	
And he told her		it was true	
to sit there.	1980	the game was pleasing.	2020
She sat quietly.		Two days later	
The boa constrictor		the man got up	
slept with his mate.		and said to her,	
They did their work		'Let us go	
and the woman saw		to God	
and asked him		and beg for a child.'	
to sleep with her too.		But the woman	
He slept with the woman		refused	
and she got up.		and told him	
When she had done so,	1990	she wouldn't go.	2030
she told him		'You discovered the game	
his play had pleased her.		that was so pleasing,	
When she had said this,		yet you want to go	
the snake told her		back to God?	
if she played that game,		Let's play it again.'	
she'd give birth		So the man came	
to many children.		and they played the game	
Then the woman		for six whole days.	
got up and ran off		See the woman; '	
to her own house.	2000	two days later	2040
She reached there		she cooked some beans	
and told the man		and her belly swelled.	
that she'd seen something,		At daybreak,	
a certain game.		see the woman	
And the man asked,		still all swollen.	
'What game was that?'		See the man,	
And she replied,		it was fear	
'Wait till I show you.'		that came upon him.	
She went to lie down		He asked her	
and called the man.	2010	what they should do.	2050
He came there		And the woman	
and lay down too,		replied to him,	
and then the woman		'Let's wait a while.'	
showed him what to do.		And the man	
And the man		told the woman,	

'Let's go off
 to God's place
 and find the cause
 of the swollen belly.'
 Then the woman
 told him
 she wouldn't go.
 See the man
 sitting quietly,
 asking the cause.
 Then the woman
 told him
 to leave it
 and come and play.
 'This belly of mine
 doesn't pain me.'
 Two days later
 her belly ached
 and she began to wail.
 The younger one
 sat there quietly
 and then got up
 and hurried out
 to see the being
 and asked him,
 'Look at
 this matter
 that's troubling me.'
 The being of the wild
 hurried over
 with his skin bag,
 his leather bottle,
 with his bell,
 his carved figures,
 his guardian,
 with his stones,
 and his wild fruit pod.
 He emptied them out
 and when he'd done so,
 he told him

to draw near.
 And when he'd done so,
 he said to him
 they should grasp the stick.
 2060 When they'd done so, 2100
 they greeted each other.
 When they'd done this,
 he took his left hand.
 See the stick.
 'What sort of stick?'
 The handle of an axe
 he took,
 and when he had done so,
 he told him,
 2070 'Take hold of it too', 2110
 and he held it.
 The being of the wild
 held the stick,
 held it and it shook.
 The being of the wild
 revealed to him
 that he saw something,
 and he asked him
 what it was.
 2080 And he replied, 2120
 'Your wife's belly
 is aching;
 that's why you came here.
 That was why
 I took my bag.
 Wait while I throw
 and you'll see the cowries.'
 So he threw them.
 See the cowries,
 2090 two up, two down. 2130
 Then he said,
 'It is true.
 My wife's belly
 ached so much.
 That's why

I declared
I'd climb to God's place
to ask him about it.
Then a thought
came to me
and I said
I would come
to ask you
to find out.
That's why
I came here.'
The being of the wild
said to him,
'There's nothing wrong.
A person
is coming to you,
a new person;
it is this
that God
in all his wisdom
gave to the woman
in her belly.
Therefore
run back home.'
And the man
stood up,
went out
and ran home
to his father's house.
He got there
and heard crying;
a baby
was crying out,
and he asked,
'Whose child
is crying
in my house?'
He rushed in
and saw the woman
holding a child.

2140

2150

2160

2170

It was fear
that seized him,
and she said,
'Wait a while
and keep calm.'
And when he did so,
the little old woman
told him
to wait a while.
'About this matter,
it was God
in all his wisdom
who made the woman
go into the woods
where she saw something.
She began to play,
she stopped,
and her belly
became great with child.
And so this person
came to you.'
See the man
laughing softly,
and he said,
'The first child
that I have,
it was God
that gave me.
But that other one,
I ask you,
who gave it me?'
The little old woman
then said,
'God gave it you.
That is why
the slender girl
went to the woods
and saw a large snake
which showed her
how to play.

2180

2190

2200

2210

When the game was over,
 my child helped him.
 That's how it is.
 Do you understand?'
 The boy's father 2220
 spoke again,
 'That child,
 I will give him
 the name
 of Der.
 God didn't give me,
 so I call him Der.'
 The little old woman
 thought to herself,
 then hushed the man. 2230
 The man became quiet,
 and the little old woman
 spoke, saying,
 'The name
 of Der
 is not for him.
 His name
 is Number Nine.'
 The boy's father
 asked the woman, 2240
 'Why is it Nine?'
 And she replied
 that it was not God
 who gave him
 the name
 of Nine.
 The man agreed,
 and when he did so,
 she continued,
 'That child, 2250
 I gave him
 the name of Nine,
 because you'll have
 ten children
 born after him.'

See them there,
 they had children
 amounting to ten.
 The little old woman
 laughed softly 2260
 and asked,
 'How many are there?'
 And they replied
 'There are ten,
 in addition to Nine
 and God's child.
 See them all;
 God's breeze
 blows upon them
 and they grow up. 2270
 And when they have grown
 see the man.
 One day
 he took bowstrings
 and bow staves
 to make some bows.
 When he had done so,
 he shared them out
 and when he had done so,
 they said to him, 2280
 'Well and good,
 now teach us to shoot.'
 He took a bow,
 hurried out
 and called God's child
 to come out
 with his bow.
 He came out
 with his bow
 and he told them 2290
 to look at
 the tall okro stalk.
 He shot at it
 and hit the stalk.
 Two days later

the younger one		and sometime later	
went out hunting		they led him	
with his children.		away	
They hurried along		to the door of their room	
to the thick woods.	2300	where they told him	2340
When they reached there,		to sit a while.	
they saw an antelope.		They cut some leaves	
They began to shoot		and brought them over	
but didn't hit it.		for him to taste.	
They stood there,		He did so.	
and God's child		They were shea leaves,	
fitted an arrow		which were not bitter.	
to his bow		They cut more leaves,	
and began to shoot.		some dawadawa leaves,	
When he did so,	2310	and brought them over	2350
he hit the antelope		for him to taste,	
and began to run,		and they were not bitter.	
to run after it.		Then they took	
He reached		some ebony leaves	
the edge of a hole,		and brought them over	
went down		for him to taste.	
and saw some beings.		They took other leaves	
What did he do?		and mixed them together	
One of the beings		for him to taste,	
asked him,	2320	and they were not bitter.	2360
'Who was it		Then strophanthus leaves	
shot our heifer?'		they brought along	
Fear it was		for him to taste.	
that seized God's child;		He began to taste	
he stood there		and found them bitter.	
while they pulled out the arrow.		One of them took these leaves,	
When they had done so,		took a broken pot	
they asked him again,		in order to boil them,	
'What did you put on it?'		took the strophanthus	
and he said	2330	and dropped it in.	2370
he didn't put anything.		When this was done,	
The beings of the wild		he lit a fire	
then told him		and took an object.	
to wait a while.		What was that?	
He waited		The head of a cobra	

which he dropped in		'Taste and see.'	
and began to cook		He began to taste	
until it boiled.		and his tongue blistered.	
He told him		He took an arrow,	
to bring the arrow.	2380	got up to go	2420
He took out an arrow		out of the door	
and handed it to the being.		when he saw a fowl.	
The being's child		He gave it to a child,	
took the arrow		a small boy,	
to the strophanthus.		to shoot so he could see.	
The hot fluid		He began to shoot.	
was smeared		See the fowl	
on the arrow.		which fell on its back,	
When he had done so,		was about to die	
he told him	2390	and then dropped dead.	2430
to look at this plant		See the child	
and when he went home,		go tell his father.	
he should show his father,		Two days later	
the younger one.		he took his quiver	
He hurried home		with his arrows	
to his father's house,		to cut strophanthus.	
and when he reached there,		A cobra's head	
he showed the younger one.		was cut off	
When he had done so,		and put in the poison.	
he told him,	2400	He began to heat it	2440
'So it came about		and when it boiled	
that the being of the wild		he took the arrows,	
took me off		many people's arrows,	
into the woods		laid them down,	
and showed me		and spread on the poison.	
how to brew poison.'		When he had finished,	
When he had shown him,		what did he do?	
the boy's father		Two days later	
fitted an arrow		he told them	
to his bow	2410	to go out hunting.	2450
and told him,		They did so	
'It's a lie,		and saw an animal;	
it's nothing at all.'		a large roan	
And God's child		and its dam	
said to him,		were standing there.	

See the child;
 it's God's child
 with his sharp eye
 who began to shoot.
 He hit it smack
 and the arrow held.
 The male roan
 fell down.
 He hallooed,
 and the boy's father
 hurried up
 and saw an object,
 the dead roan.
 He laughed softly
 and said to him,
 'Let's go off home.'
 When they reached
 the father's house,
 what did they do?
 They told the women
 to fetch the meat;
 so they hurried there,
 saw the meat
 and began to laugh.
 They carried it off
 and hurried home.
 The younger one
 told them
 to wait a while
 and keep quiet.
 He took a leg
 which he kept himself.
 He took the loins;
 the mother has that.
 He took the neck
 for the meat carriers.
 He took the back
 to give the grandfather.
 He took the guts
 to give the women.

He took the head
 to give his friend,
 and he told him,
 'If you kill one yourself,
 keep the head
 and give it to me.'
 He finished speaking
 and two days later,
 they went to the farm
 to hoe.
 They saw some game.
 What sort of game?
 It was a buffalo
 with its calf.
 They stood quite still.
 God's child
 came closer,
 moving stealthily,
 then drew his bow;
 at the buffalo's
 shoulder
 he aimed and shot.
 See the poison
 climbing up,
 out of her nostrils.
 She fell there
 and as she fell,
 they ran over.
 The boy's father
 began to laugh,
 laughed softly
 and then said,
 'Look at that,
 and I've got no bow!
 If only I'd known
 wild animals
 were here,
 I'd have brought my bow.
 See God's child,
 the other day he killed [something]

and he comes here
 again today
 and kills another.
 And I've no bow!
 They hastened back
 to their father's house
 and told the women
 to fetch the meat.
 Some young girls
 went along,
 saw the meat
 and began to laugh;
 they picked it up
 and carried it home.
 But the buffalo calf
 they left behind;
 they said
 they'd leave it a year
 so it could grow
 and then they'd kill it.
 They left it
 and two days later
 they went to the farm
 and saw the calf
 eating grass.
 They began to laugh,
 and the small buffalo
 began to cry
 and then said,
 'My mother's debt
 I will redeem.'
 See that one;
 three years
 have passed
 when one day
 the younger one
 and his sons
 went back to the woods
 to hunt for meat.
 They returned with it

to their father's house
 and finished the meat.
 Two days later,
 they went to the farm
 and began to hoe. 2580
 When they'd finished,
 some young girls
 brought them beer
 which they sat and drank.
 They drank the beer.
 Do you see a creature
 behind their backs,
 stealing upon them?
 What sort of creature?
 A young girl 2590
 of surpassing beauty.
 They saw a woman
 and called her
 to come over.
 She hurried there
 and they said to her
 'See the girl;
 go and call her
 to come over.'
 She called the young girl 2600
 to come there
 and when she did so,
 God's child
 declared,
 'That's my wife.'
 And Number Nine
 said the same.
 And the younger one
 told them
 he would take her 2610
 to be married
 to his youngest son.
 The girl
 told them
 to wait.

They waited		how pleased she was.	
and she took a small stick,		They began to farm,	
began to measure		and when they'd done so,	
two hundred paces,		don't you see someone?	
and stuck it in the ground.	2620	What sort of a person?	2660
When she had done so,		The little old woman	
she told them		came along	
to shoot at the stick.		to the farm	
'The one		and then asked,	
who's a real man		'Young men,	
and hits it,		what are you doing?'	
he's the one I want.		And they replied,	
I don't want		'Nothing at all.	
to marry a man		That young girl	
whom one day	2630	came to us	2670
someone will overpower.'		and told us	
They began to shoot		she wanted	
and the younger one		the young men	
shot first		that were good shots	
but didn't succeed.		to see who were men.	
He then said		God's child	
that his last born		put on his wrist-guard	
should shoot and see.		and began to shoot	
But he too missed.		like a man.	
See the child,	2640	And she said,	2680
he begins to shoot.		"That's the one I want."'	
God's child		The little old woman	
drew back his bow		took the girl	
and began to shoot		and led the way	
at the little stick.		back to the house.	
He hit it		They reached	
and then said,		the father's house,	
'I'm the one		and the little old woman,	
my father begat.'		with her great knowledge,	
The young girl	2650	watched the girl,	2690
caught hold		understood her,	
of God's child		and clicked her mouth.	
and embraced him.		'That young girl,	
When she did this,		she's not a woman.'	
see the woman,		But the younger one	

had told her
 to take her home.
 She took her home
 and they reached
 the father's house.
 In the evening,
 see the young men
 come from the farm
 and arrive back
 at the father's house.
 The younger one
 then told
 God's child
 to take the girl
 into his room.
 He took the girl
 and they entered in
 to his room.
 He fetched a skin,
 an antelope skin,
 and told her to sit,
 but she refused.
 Then he fetched
 a roan skin
 and told her to sit,
 but she refused.
 Then he fetched
 a duiker skin
 and told her to sit,
 but she refused.
 Then he fetched
 a lion skin
 and told her to sit
 but she refused.
 Then he fetched
 another antelope's skin
 and told her to sit,
 but she refused.
 Then he fetched
 yet another antelope's skin

and told her to sit,
 but she refused.
 So he went and fetched
 her mother's skin,
 a buffalo skin,
 and threw it down
 on the ground.
 The young girl
 hurried over,
 sat on it
 and began to weep.
 God's child
 asked the woman
 why she was crying.
 And she replied
 that she wasn't crying;
 the little old woman
 had lit a fire
 and the smoke
 got in her eyes,
 so that the tears
 came streaming out.
 She finished speaking
 and it was dark.
 They lay down
 and she asked her husband
 what his name was,
 and he replied,
 'My name is
 God's child.'
 And he asked the girl,
 'Your own name,
 what is it?'
 And she replied,
 'My name is
 Suffering.'
 And he said
 it was a good name.
 She asked the man,
 'Husband,

how did you manage
to kill
such big animals?
And he replied
'Well, I know how to kill.' 2780
And she asked,
'What do you kill with?'
And he replied,
'With bow and arrow.'
And she asked,
'And if it's
a dangerous animal
that wants to kill you,
what would you do?'
And he replied, 2790
'I'd burrow into the ground.'
And she asked,
'And what if it follows you?'
And he replied,
'I would fly up in the air.'
'And if it follows?'
'I'd turn into a leaf.'
'And if it does the same?'
'I'd turn into a blade of grass.'
'And if it still does the
same?' 2800
And he replied,
'I would turn into a ——'
The old woman
said to him,
'Be careful.'
And the man stopped.
The young girl
then asked,
'What was it
the old woman 2810
told you
and you stopped?'
And he replied,
'It was nothing.'

When he had said this,
see the young girl,
she had asked in vain,
then stopped and lay down.
Before daybreak
God's child, 2820
who is a farmer,
got up in the twilight
and began to go
to his farm.
And he told
the little old woman
to take out some millet
so they could pound it
to give to his new bride
to grind and bring to him. 2830
She took out the millet
to give to the girl.
They pounded it
and took the grains,
gave them to the woman
to grind and take
out to the farm.
She ground them,
and when she'd done so,
she began to leave. 2840
Some slender girls
also started to go
and she said to them,
'Oh no,'
they should wait.
They went back home
and she took the flour
and put it in a basket
which she carried on her head.
When she reached 2850
the edge of the farm,
she saw a small thicket
where she stopped
and changed to a buffalo.

With the load on her head, she hurried on. God's child stood up and stared, took his bow and his quiver,	2860	She couldn't see him and went off to the woods. When she got there, he fell out [of her tail] and when he did so, the buffalo	2900
drew out an arrow, began to shoot, shot and missed. She came up, ready to kill him. God's child burrowed into the earth and the buffalo burrowed there too. He flew into the air	2870	began to cry and said, 'God's child is a real man; if he hadn't been, I'd have killed him because of my mother and the way they laughed at me. However, the old woman	2910
and the buffalo flew up in pursuit, wanting to kill him. He turned and came down and changed to a leaf, and the buffalo did the same, wanting to kill him. He changed to a blade of grass and the buffalo	2880	told him to be careful and he was. If he hadn't been, I think that this very day I'd have killed him.' That is why the old woman's advice you can't	2920
did the same, wanting to kill him, but without success. What did he do? He came to a clearing and when he got there, the buffalo wanted to kill him, but without success. He changed to a needle,	2890	neglect. And the young men then asked 'Why is it that old woman's advice should not be neglected?' Don't you see God's child, who spoke again.	2930
got into her tail and hid there. The buffalo searched in vain.		'You yourself know that you can't do anything. That's why	

you ask		'Headstrong boy,	
such questions.		if you do something	
Don't you see		and they teach you in vain,	
that when we go		one fine day	
into the woods		you'll come up against	
and stay a long time,	2940	some problem	2980
and then come out,		that'll really teach you.'	
it is our father,		When he had said this,	
the younger one,		he went on,	
who asks us		'This matter	
about our hunting—		that we have [in hand]	
to choose the best man		is a weighty one.	
from amongst us.		It troubles us	
When he had asked him,		continuously.	
see the child		What is it?	
wearing his wrist-guard.	2950	Our Bagre	2990
As for that question		is the grave matter	
which you asked me,		that troubles us,	
you're a wicked youth;		together with the girls	
to know nothing		and the men	
is a bad thing.		and the women.	
When you do something		What shall we do	
and it's finished,		about this?	
if it comes out well,		The first people	
you'll know about it,		owned this [ritual],	
and if it comes out badly,	2960	and when they were	
you'll still know		buried,	3000
all about it.'		they should have taken it with	
When he had said this,		them.	
he went on.		But instead they left it for us,	
'As for the question		so it troubles us	
you asked me,		and we know not what to do.	
it's about that matter		Young girls,	
I'm talking to you.		young men	
If you want		and old people,	
to know the reason,	2970	it troubles us all	
do a bad thing,		and we searched in vain.	
then watch and see.'		We didn't know	3010
When he had spoken so,		and so began to go astray.	
he went on.		The ways of our ancestors,	

how can you run
 and leave them?
 It is for this reason
 that we performed this [ritual]
 but did so in vain.
 Of all the elders
 including the younger one,
 it is the younger one 3020
 who is our great man,
 and had his problem.
 The beings of the wild
 came out and took him
 and led him off
 into the woods,
 where they showed him
 many things.
 They taught him everything,
 except about death. 3030
 But we had heard
 about death.
 It was the younger one
 who taught us
 how to hoe,
 taught us
 how to eat,
 taught us
 how to brew beer,
 taught us 3040
 how to grow guinea corn,
 taught us
 how to kill wild animals.
 When he had finished,
 one day
 we watched
 the younger one
 as he died.
 Fear struck us,
 we didn't know what'd
 happened. 3050
 We seized hold

of a creeper.
 We got hold
 and began to pull.
 But we pulled in vain
 and left it for the children,
 who then took it.
 See the boy
 thinking to himself
 about the problem 3060
 that we couldn't solve.
 He discovered
 [the Bagre] was to do with God
 and the beings of the wild
 and we searched in vain.
 So we returned
 to our father's house.
 That man
 who knows so many things,
 knows about this matter 3070
 which we said
 was God's affair.
 So that one day
 we'll save one another
 and we'll know
 what the first people
 were unable to solve.
 And then we'll grasp it,
 grasp it with the right hand,
 never with the left, 3080
 so that we'll act truthfully,
 not in a deceitful way,
 and we'll begin to see
 what the truth is
 and not tell lies.
 The forefathers
 searched in vain,
 and as a result
 we also searched in vain,
 accepting 3090
 those lies

from the lips of the first people,		and keep quiet.	
from their lying lips,		Then she said,	
which they had followed		'This is the reason	
fruitlessly		why a girl	
before turning to maggots,		cannot hoe.	
and going back to the earth.		She is	
Then we came along		the one who cooks.	
and also said		She is	
we would follow		the one who sweeps.	
the old ways.	3100	She is	3140
But we did so in vain.		the lighter of fires.	
We followed in vain,		She is	
got together		the fetcher of water.	
and conferred about		She is a member	
the ways of our forefathers,		of another person's house.	
and then we found out		That's the reason	
about many problems		we do not let	
which confront us.		young girls	
What confronts us?		do any hoeing.'	
Don't you see farming,	3110	The young man	3150
which came to us?		asked us again,	
It's a great boon		'How is it	
that God gave us.		that girls	
Do you see that		belong to another person's	
which we feed to our children		house?'	
and to the women too?		And the old woman	
We feed them;		laughed softly	
it's with the help of the hoe		and then said,	
that you feed people.		'A young woman	
And then they asked,	3120	is unable	
'Why is it		to stay in your house.'	3160
that a girl		'Why is it	
cannot farm?		she can't stay	
Do you know the reason		in your house?'	
why it is so,		'She's not a man.	
that women		She gives birth	
cannot farm?'		and brings increase to the	
The little old woman		house;	
asked them		when she has given birth,	
to wait a while	3130	for two years afterwards	

she sits in a room
and suffers.' 3170

When she finished speaking,
the young man
laughed softly,
and when he'd done so,
he started off home.

The great man
went to his house
and the little old woman
took the path home
and went on her way. 3180

Do you see something,
something that kills,
which they had showed
to the [younger] one?
'What's the thing that kills?'

And he said,
'It's strophanthus
that they showed him
and boiled it for him,
to kill wild animals.' 3190

The young boy
began to leave
and the old woman too
found her path
and off she went.

The [younger] one's
very own child,
a brave child,
was called
Deri. 3200

'Who is Der?'

He is
a person
who was born,
then dies
and comes back,
and then they bear again
and again he dies;

he is the one
they call Der. 3210

He is
a young man,
that's why
they gave him a bow.

He went out
to the open grassland,
hunted in vain
for wild animals,
then returned home.

His wife was present
in the house. 3220

He arrived
and thirst
gripped him.

What was he to do?

He didn't know.

So he called his wife
to fetch cold water
for him [to drink].

See the wife: 3230

she became angry
and refused to bring water.

Anger took hold
of Deri.

He fitted an arrow
to his bow
and shot himself.

When he did so,
the strophanthus,
which makes the poison, 3240

rose and came
out of his nostrils
and killed him.

When he died,
see his wife
crying bitterly.

Many people
heard the wailing,

hurried there		that's how it is.	
and saw the corpse.	3250	And yet	3290
Some didn't know		when someone's	
that an arrow		words offend you,	
was able		you take a stick	
to kill people.		and try to hit him.	
They thought		Do you see	
that only a wild animal		it's the truth	
was able to kill.		that lies there?	
But they saw how it was		Do you see them?	
and afterwards,		Two days later	
two days later,	3260	the girl	3300
they took Der,		wore her long dress	
put him in a room		and went to the market.	
and buried him.		When she got there,	
When they had done so,		see [two] young men	
they took their bows,		about the same size,	
took their arrows		one is Ziem	
and their quivers,		and the other is Naab.	
and they insulted each other		They see the girl	
and began to quarrel.		and how pretty she is.	
See the men	3270	They say to each other	3310
coming out.		that they will have her.	
Then that man		So they send a slender girl	
drew back his bow.		to call her over.	
They were insulting each other		She called her over	
when, after a while,		and when she came	
one of them shoots,		she sat herself down.	
shoots a man.		She sat down quietly	
See the fellow,		and they got some beer,	
God's son,		filled a calabash,	
who laughs softly,	3280	gave it to her.	3320
fits an arrow		She begins to drink.	
to his bow		See her husband,	
and begins to shoot.		red with anger,	
He shoots		coming over.	
and a young man		See his bow	
is felled by an arrow.		and his quiver.	
You see this?		He comes over	
And they say		and starts to flick	

on his wrist-guard		See the dead	
so it makes a noise.	3330	piled high on one another.	3370
And he said,		The old women	
'It is fear		began to wail.	
takes hold of Naab,		The elder	
and Ziem too,		came out	
and they don't know what to do		and put on his wrist-guard.	
except sit quietly.'		He reached the place	
They sat quietly,		and told them	
but his anger		to stop all that.	
was uncontrollable.		They did so	
See the husband	3340	and then he said,	3380
start to aim.		'In this affair,	
He shot at Ziem,		one single girl	
he shot		has killed many youths	
and killed him.		and the husband	
When he lay dead,		has also died.'	
the old women		And they said,	
told them		'If you are able	
to stop all this		to sit quietly and learn sense,	
and hold back,		your reason will return.	
and they began to wail.	3350	What sense?	3390
See the people,		The sense I speak of	
so many people,		is that over one woman	
running there.		they killed many men.	
They saw Ziem		This is the reason	
lying dead,		all the elders	
and didn't know what to do.		are sitting together,	
What did they do?		thinking what to do.	
Ziem's clansfolk,		They came out	
the young men,		and shouted loudly	
were longing to fight,	3360	to tell them all	3400
and the woman's husband		to keep quiet.	
and his clansfolk,		When they were quiet,	
they also came,		what did he say?	
longing to fight.		[The elder] told them,	
They met together		'The being of the wild	
in the open grassland		taught us	
and began to shoot,		about many things,	
and shot till they tired.		but with one exception.	

And that was about death.	3410	This death that killed our children,	3450
He taught us about that poison; he showed us strophanthus, which we use to kill wild animals for food.		we call it God's death.'	
But this evil matter which has come upon us, what is it?		The [younger] one then said it wasn't God's death that troubled us.	
It happened	3420	'What trouble comes amongst us?'	
that Deri went hunting; he went to the woods and returning home, asked for water.		'It is that shooting yourself with an arrow or cutting yourself with a knife, a person, who is a real man and has sense, will be much afraid of such a death.	3460
But when he did so, he didn't get it from his wife.		If anger seizes you, and you're a real man, you go out	3470
Anger took hold of him,	3430	and take your axe, and your bow, and your knife, and your arrow, and wear a quiver, and go into the woods taking your anger with you.'	
so he didn't know what to do.		'And what sort of thing will you do there?'	
Taking out an arrow, he shot himself and died.		'A male animal	3480
We saw this and we said a brave man had died.		when you meet one, kill it, cut off the head and hurry home to your father's house.	
We got up and started to play with his arrow.	3440	Then they'll know that you are indeed a real man.'	
Look at the dead now upon us.			
If the youth had been a man and had gone to play with a woman, he wouldn't have gone and played with arrow matters.			

One day
 the younger one
 called his children
 and his wives
 and told them
 to be quiet.
 When they were quiet,
 he spoke, saying,
 that they call
 upon God
 but don't know him.
 And he continued,
 'When you die
 you will know God.'
 'How is it
 that you know God
 only when you die?'
 And he replied,
 'During the time
 when you're on earth
 you speak of many things.
 When you die,
 you will understand
 the words you speak.'
 And he said
 'About God,
 when you die,
 it's then you'll see him,
 like the younger one
 and the spider,
 and know God's place.
 [God] told us
 that the child,
 he created,
 and the man,
 he created,
 and the girl,
 he created,
 and the old woman,
 he created them all.

He created them,
 but what do they give him? 3530
 They give him nothing.
 And he told them
 to find a fowl
 and catch it,
 and take a pot,
 fill it with water
 and put it [on the ground].
 They took an empty pot
 and put it [on the ground].
 When the time arrived, 3540
 the rain came
 and raindrops
 fell into the pot.
 They collected this,
 then went to the river bank
 where they saw something.
 What was it?
 An oyster shell.
 They collected this
 and came to the house. 3550
 Then they went off again
 into the woods
 where they saw something else.
 What was it?
 The leaves of a tree.
 What leaves?
 Ebony leaves.
 They cut these
 and the [younger] one
 hushed them, 3560
 and when they were quiet,
 he told them
 to dig for roots.
 They did so,
 and when they'd finished,
 they went home.
 When they reached
 their father's house,

they saw something else.		'If you kill it	
What did they see?	3570	and the cock	3610
A large tree.		falls on its side,	
They dug up some roots,		you will know	
all digging together.		that it's a kind god.	
The elder,		If it lies	
who tells great lies,		on it's belly,	
told them		you will know	
to take the roots		that it's not	
and twist them together.		god at all.	
They twisted the [roots]		If it falls	
and when they had done so,	3580	facing upward	3620
he told them		on its back,	
that one thing remained.		you will know	
And they asked,		that this	
'What is that?'		is god.'	
'The mahogany tree,		So they killed the cock.	
its roots belong		A being of the wild	
to the beings of the wild.'		made a cloud of dust,	
And they said,		covered them all	
'What shall we do?'		and came there	
And he told them	3590	to sit beside them.	3630
they should go		As they killed it,	
to the foot of the tree		he stretched out his hand,	
and dig for roots		caught the fowl	
and add them to the rest.		to turn it over.	
They dug these up		The female being	
and [he] told them		told him	
to twist them together		to turn it on its belly.	
and put them in water.		He said to her	
'In what water?'		he didn't want to.	
And he said,	3600	'I've done nothing,	3640
in the water		and yet you call	
that came from the raindrops.		my name,	
They should put them in		so why should I spoil it.	
and bring a cock		That's the reason	
to sacrifice and see.		I caught the fowl	
And they asked,		and turned it face upwards	
'How shall we kill it?'		on its back.'	
He replied,		The elder	

laughed softly
 and took a calabash;
 he with his lying mouth
 put water in it,
 and with his hand
 knocked it to see.
 When he had done so,
 what did he do?
 He spoke, saying,
 'This ritual
 we performed
 and it helped us,
 and we knew
 that it held the truth.'
 See the being of the wild,
 he turns around.
 What did he do next?
 He didn't know,
 got up quietly
 and went on his way.
 When he had gone,
 they saw the place
 that was now clear
 and we couldn't help
 starting again
 to perform it.
 We performed it
 and told the children
 and the women
 that this matter,
 any child
 who is clever
 should get hold of
 and put in his head,
 because he thinks
 that one day
 we can help each other.
 'How help each other?'
 'To do this,
 we speak

to the children.

3650 We say 3690
 that all of them
 cannot succeed in this,
 but one child
 amongst [them]
 will know all.'
 We finished speaking
 and saw
 there was a thing
 we couldn't understand,
 3660 for many things 3700
 are involved in it.
 'What are these things?'
 'We saw
 that the male bat
 is one of our Bagre creatures;
 the damdamwule bird
 is also one
 of our Bagre creatures;
 the male crown bird
 3670 is also one 3710
 of our Bagre creatures;
 the male kyaalipio bird
 is also one
 of our Bagre creatures;
 the belibaar bird
 is also one
 of our Bagre creatures.
 They are many
 but not so many.'
 3680 And we said, 3720
 'Since it is like this,
 let us perform it
 and get it over.'
 The speech
 was finished.
 'Beings of the wild,
 you came back
 at the break of day.

You came back		and other people	
and you troubled us.'	3730	were there	3770
'Troubled us how?'		whom they called	
Our bellies ached,		beings of the wild	
our heads ached.		and you silenced my question.'	
Since they ached		And the being	
and we know not what to do,		laughed again	
we ask the beings.		and asked,	
'I believe		'Why is it	
you created us,		you mention	
and put us on earth.'		the Earth shrine?'	
They laughed softly	3740	The [younger] one	3780
and we asked,		sat on the ground	
'Did they create us?'		and touched the earth	
And they answered 'Yes'.		to show him.	
When they said this,		And he said,	
the [younger] one		the younger one,	
asked again, saying,		'It was I,	
"There's a certain thing		and the elder one,	
which they said		we were two.	
was the great thing		We two,	
that created us.'	3750	we came	3790
And the being		and stopped at a place;	
asked him,		this place	
'What sort of thing?'		was a flat rock.	
And [the younger] said,		We stopped there	
'We hear his name		and had no house	
but know nothing of him.'		and no room	
And [the being] asked,		to sleep in.	
'If you've heard his name,		So we went	
what is it?'		to learn something	
And he replied,	3760	at God's house.	3800
'His name		We spoke with him	
is God.		and when we had done so,	
I, the younger one,		we found the path	
was the man		and went home.	
who knew his home		Now you've heard	
a long time ago.		the matter that relates to God.	
I came down		The elder one	
to the Earth shrine,		lay down at night	

and said
 he was in pain
 and I thought
 it was a joke.
 Shortly afterwards
 he was on the point of death.
 He died
 and after his death,
 I left him
 lying there,
 saying,
 I will go
 and lie beside him.
 I did so,
 and in three days
 the corpse began to rot
 and I still lay
 resting there.
 His body putrified
 and after it had done so,
 on one occasion,
 during the night,
 someone else
 came there
 and called to me
 to come down here.
 I did so
 and he took me
 into the woods
 for three years.
 He showed me
 many things,
 and after he'd done so,
 I went back home.
 Some time later
 he returned
 and came to my place
 to teach me
 what it was
 that I should do.'

'What was it?'
 'He said
 I should build the walls of a
 house
 and when I did so,
 he asked me
 what I would do next,
 and I told him
 that I knew
 what to do.
 And he said,
 "Do it so I can see."
 [I tried
 and failed,]
 so he took a post,
 fixed it in the ground,
 and when he had done this,
 he told me
 to get some grass
 and cover it over,
 so that if rain came
 it would protect me.
 The being of the wild
 then told me
 to wait a while.
 I did so
 and he took a post,
 and fixed it in the ground.
 After he'd done so,
 he took another log,
 brought it over
 and put it on top.
 He put it on top,
 and after he'd done so,
 what did he do next?
 The [younger] one
 watched what he was doing.
 What did he do?
 He went out,
 got what he wanted

and came back.		to stay here.	
Many sticks		What shall I do about him?’	
he placed criss-cross.	3890	The being of the wild	3930
When he had done so,		replied, saying,	
he took some of these		that to this place,	
and laid them on top.		one year hence,	
When he had done so,		he should take a fowl	
he took some earth		and go and sit	
and covered it all over.		on the flat rock	
He did this and gave it me		and call his name,	
so I could live there.		his elder [brother’s] name.	
What shall I do?		When he had so done,	
He told me	3900	he should think about	3940
to watch what he did.		the thoughts	
I watched.		he has in his head	
He took some earth,		and kill the fowl.	
covered the top,		‘I thought about them	
and when he had done so,		and killed the fowl	
he told me		and the fowl fell down.	
to climb up and see.		What was I to do?	
I climbed up		I didn’t then know	
and stood there,		what to do	
and became afraid.	3910	about that fowl.’	3950
“Don’t let me		The being of the wild	
fall through.”		told him	
“But it won’t break.”		that when it fell down	
The sky became dark,		he should sit and watch it.	
and when it did so,		‘If it turns on its belly,	
the rain came		you know that	
and it stood firm.		your elder [brother]	
I slept there		is angry with you.	
and was happy.		If it should fall,	
One matter remained	3920	legs in the air,	3960
that still troubled me.’		on its back,	
‘What is it		you know that	
that still troubles you?’		he agrees with you.’	
I said,		When he had spoken,	
‘My elder [brother]		that man	
died there		accepted the fowl	
and I abandoned him		which fell on its back.	

He laughed softly
 and got up to leave.
 The small being
 then asked him,
 'What was the name
 of the place
 you went to?'
 He turned and stood there
 and thought,
 thought to discover
 the name of the place.
 He couldn't think of it
 and laughed softly,
 and said that
 his elder brother
 slept there.
 'It is
 as if it were
 the skin of the earth (*teng gaana*).
 Therefore
 I'll call it
 my Earth shrine (*tengaan*).
 And that is why
 people know it
 by this name.
 If you stay in one place
 and leave for another,
 you always wait
 till they find
 a minor Earth shrine
 (*tengaanble*).
 'What is this shrine?
 'You will ask'
 them to take
 a certain stone
 to give you,
 and you put it down
 at the place you live.
 It will be
 the Earth shrine,

and it is that
 they call
 a minor Earth shrine.
 Do you understand?'
 They finished speaking,
 and when they'd done so,
 they then asked,
 'We want
 to know
 who created man?
 We saw
 a person
 who called himself
 a being of the wild.
 We ask the meaning
 of a being of the wild?'
 And he replied,
 'I cannot tell
 the meaning of the name
 they gave to us,
 but let us play.'
 'What kind of game
 shall we play?'
 We sat down
 and he took something
 and put it in a gourd.
 We didn't know
 what he took out,
 but it's like water.
 He told us
 we should drink some
 and we said
 we wouldn't drink it.
 And he said
 I should taste and see.
 I took some and tasted
 and it was good.
 And he said
 I should sip it.
 So I drank a little

and it was good.
 He asked me to drink,
 and when I had finished,
 he also drank. 4050
 He had said earlier
 that he could not tell
 the meaning of his name
 so I could understand.
 But right now
 he wanted to speak
 about that matter
 to me.
 What did he say?
 He then said 4060
 that his name
 was *kòntòme* [being of the wild]
 and the meaning
 is that
 'he cannot come near you.'
 So he spoke,
 and when he'd done so
 [the younger one] began to
 laugh.
 When he had finished,
 the [younger one] turned 4070
 to him
 and asked,
 'Is it you
 whom they call so?
 Was it you created man?'
 And he replied,
 'It was I
 who did so.'
 When he had spoken,
 what should we do?
 God's affairs 4080
 bring much suffering.
 Let us attack
 one problem first.
 We asked

about the affairs of God,
 whose name we hear
 but don't see.
 And we asked again,
 'Who created man?'
 and he replied, 4090
 that he created man.
 When he had finished,
 we asked again,
 'Who is it
 that they call
 God?'
 And he replied,
 that if we say
 it is God,
 then it's a lie. 4100
 If God
 exists,
 then it is he
 who is God.
 And we knew all this
 to be a lie.
 We didn't know what to do
 and retraced our steps
 to find out
 who created man. 4110
 We traced back
 till we came
 to the younger one,
 for it is he
 that was the first man,
 and he told us
 it was God
 that created man
 and the beings of the wild
 and the fowl 4120
 and the leaves
 and the animals
 and all things;
 and stones

and guardians		that we should	
and deities.		obey his commandments,	
What shall we do		fear him,	
to know his ways?		respect him	
Then one man . . .		and follow his word.'	
'Who was it?'	4130	And [God] said	4170
It was Napolo,		there's a certain person	
the younger one's		he created,	
eldest son,		whom we cannot see.	
who said,		And when he	
'I hear what you say,		gets to know us,	
I have heard it all.		none of our affairs	
However,		can go right.'	
will you please		And we asked,	
excuse me		'What person is that?'	
while I say something.'	4140	And he replied	4180
They were quiet		that [you] people	
and he went on,		should accept	
'I heard what was said		what he has said.	
and the thing		'You say	
that I say		that you agree.	
is not meant to humiliate you.'		You agree	
Then he asked a question,		and then go and ask again.'	
asked the children,		'What is it	
asked the women,		we should do	
asked the men,		to follow your word?	4190
'If you say	4150	What is it	
it was God		that we should do	
who created us,		to respect you?	
then he created us		What is it	
to do what?'		that we should do	
We said,		here on earth	
'The question		to fulfill your ways?	
you ask		For you say	
is a sound one.'		those people	
And he said,	4160	were created by you	4200
'God		and put	
created us		upon earth.'	
and put us on earth,		'If you people	
saying		accept my word,	

then you reject theirs.

If you agree
with my word,
this affair of yours,
you'll understand
and perform.

Two days later, 4210
see the people
[gathered] there.

They came there
to deceive you.

They deceived you
and you say
you'll follow them.

You follow them
and you say
that if you follow them, 4220
you'll find the truth.

You followed them
and I withdrew my hand.

Some day
you will come
and tell me
about something you see
there on earth.'

So he spoke.

The distant ancestors, 4230
those people
who lived first,
they rejected his words.

They rejected that way
and followed the beings.

They continued to do so
and came to this point.

God's child
asked them a question.

He asked them, 4240
asked them quietly,

'What happened
there on earth?'

'We said

we would follow
your words.

And we began to follow them,
and as we were doing so,
a certain person

deceived us, saying 4250
that if we follow him,
we would know the truth.

And we followed him
and thought that
the truth

lay there
and we could understand it.

But we followed in vain.

What single thing
did you give us? 4260

The things of God
are many

that you taught us.

A hoe it was

you gave to us.

We had it with us
when we descended
to earth.

And you said

we should keep it, 4270
for it is something
that one day
could help us.

We kept it
and we reached
the earth.

We kept it
and it is the one thing
that helps us.

The being of the wild 4280
deceived us
to go into the woods,
where he took us,

changed us to what he wanted,		we will respect them	
and turned our senses.		from today.	
So that the elders,		But, we said,	
those first people,		right now	
went off		we are unable	
to God's country		to repair the harm.	
and reached that place.'	4290	So we asked	4330
God's child		what we should do.	
began to ask them,		And you said	
to ask a question:		there was something;	
'What did you say		you would lead us	
to God?'		and help us to understand.	
We said		And we began to think,	
we had agreed		to sit and think.	
to follow		And you said	
his words,		that about this matter,	
that we would	4300	you must wait a while.	4340
respect him		A certain person	
and we would		came to us	
fear him.		and wanted to question us.	
So we said,		And we said,	
but came upon		ask so we can see	
a being of the wild		what is peeping out.	
who told us		What is peeping out?	
that if we followed		It's a stone [from the Earth	
his own words,		shrine]	
we would discover	4310	which came there	
the truth.		and said	4350
We followed,		'God,	
and when we had done so,		you created me,	
we turned again		put me on earth	
and said		and told me	
we would follow		that God's children	
your words as well.		are many,	
But we had forgotten how		but we cannot	
and searched in vain		understand one another.	
and came to you again	4320	So you spoke, saying	
at God's house.		that all of us	4360
And we said		can speak,	
that you and your words,		but we can't understand	

each other's tongues.
However,
one day
the younger one
slept beside me
with his elder [brother].
They lay there
and the elder one
came near to death.
He died there
and when he did so,
the younger one
went off to the woods
and left us.
We lay there
for three years
before he returned.
One day,
with another person,
he came up to me.
They came there
and he took something.'
'What sort of thing?'
'It was a fowl,
a live fowl.
He then came
right up to me
and sat beating
till I ached,
but I said nothing.
Why was it
I said nothing?
You [God] said
I shouldn't speak
to my fellow beings.
Even if he makes a fire,
I should keep quiet
and lie there.
Yet all of you
who speak

of many matters
on this earth,
you will come
to my place.'
So he spoke;
it was the first people,
who went there.
He spoke,
and when he had done so,
he began to ask,
'About what matter
did he talk to God?'
He said,
'When you created me,
did you say I could speak
with anyone?'
And he replied,
'I didn't say so.'
And he asked again,
'When you created me,
did you say
I should get up
and go to people
and talk with them?'
And he replied
that he didn't say so.
And he asked again,
'When you created me,
did you say
I should have life
to give to people?'
And he replied
that he didn't say so.
'Well now,
one day
the younger one
brought a companion
and came here;
this red-head
came and took up

4370

4410

4380

4420

4390

4430

4400

4440

one of my stones
 and beat me
 until I cried.
 Yet you said
 we mustn't
 understand one another's
 speech.
 So it happened; 4450
 I said what I had to say
 and he did not understand,
 but went on beating me.
 And when he had finished,
 instead of leaving me,
 he picked up
 the chicken
 and cut its throat.
 He took the blood,
 poured it on my head, 4460
 and after he'd done so,
 he said that,
 if I am anything at all,
 if I have life,
 I should watch over him
 and see he comes to no harm.
 Still I remained silent,
 and God's raindrops
 fell down,
 beat upon me 4470
 and cleansed me.
 They did so,
 and two days later
 the younger one,
 the red-headed man,
 came back again.
 They came here
 with a chicken
 and again beat me
 till it hurt 4480
 and I began to cry.
 But I cried in vain

for they continued to hit me.
 When they had finished,
 they took the blood
 and poured it over me again.
 That's the reason
 I came
 to God's place.
 You are God 4490
 and have great wisdom.'
 And [God] said
 we should sit down.
 They sat there
 and when they had done so,
 what did you do?
 The affairs of God
 bring great suffering.
 And God
 took something 4500
 as large as the sun,
 put it over our head
 and said,
 'Look at that'.
 And he replied
 he was looking at it
 and saw
 it was a skin.
 And he said,
 'The thing you earlier 4510
 told me about,
 this is it.'
 [The younger one] said,
 'I am lost.'
 And [God] asked,
 'How did you get lost?'
 He replied,
 'Someone
 led me astray.'
 'Who did?' 4520
 And he replied,
 'The small being it was,

he led me astray.'		but he called	
And he said,		and there was no reply.	
'The being of the wild,		There was no reply,	
did you hear of him		and when this happened,	
on earth?		God spoke	
Did you see him		and said,	
walking around?'		'But you claimed	
And he replied	4530	you understood his speech	4570
that he didn't see him.		like he understands you.	
'Did you hear him		How is it	
speaking		that he didn't answer?'	
to you?'		And he replied,	
And he replied		'I don't know.'	
that he heard him.		Then God	
'You and who else?'		himself	
And he said,		called [the being's] name	
'I alone.'		and he answered.	
And God said,	4540	And [God] told him	4580
'Did he come to your house?'		to come and hear	
And he replied,		what they were saying.	
'He came		He came over	
to that place.'		and stood on his own	
'Did the women see him?		and [God] told [the man],	
Did the children see him?'		'Stand up and repeat	
And he replied		what you told me.'	
that they didn't see him.		And he replied,	
'How was it		'I said	
they didn't see him?'	4550	you created me	4590
And he answered,		and put me on earth	
'I alone		and told me	
can see him.'		to obey your words,	
Thereupon		to fear you	
he said,		and to respect you.	
'Since you saw him		You told me this,	
on your own,		and then said	
call him over here.'		you would create a person	
He called,		who would come and deceive	
called his name.	4560	me.	
The being		And he came	4600
was sitting near,		and told me	

that he too obeys your words,
 so I thought that,
 if I obeyed him
 I was also obeying you.

I obeyed
 but did so in vain,
 for he deceived me,
 spoke his words,
 went into the woods

and led me astray.
 This is what
 I told you.'

The being of the wild
 used his cunning
 and asked God,

'God,
 when you created me
 and put me on the earth,
 did you tell me
 to speak to people?'

He replied
 he didn't tell him.

'Why was it
 that that man
 came and told
 this to you?
 Let me ask so I can understand.

When you created me,
 did you tell me
 that mankind
 would see me?'

'I didn't say so.'

And he said,
 'When you created me,
 did you tell me
 that mankind
 could understand me?'

'I didn't say so.'

And then he said,
 'When you created me,

did mankind and I
 live together?'

And he said,
 'You lived together.'

'How then
 could I deceive him
 and spoil your plan?'

He it was
 of his own accord
 who abandoned you.'

[God] said,

'Now that
 you've come to my place,
 do you know
 what to do?'

He replied,
 'I don't know.'

And [God] told him
 to sit there.

He sat down
 and when he had done so
 [God] took something hot
 and put it over his head.

'Younger one,
 you walked round and saw;
 when you saw how it was,
 you should have spoken
 so that we

could abandon the beings.

But you didn't speak.

Because of this
 we know

that our beings
 are both bad
 and good.'

'Why are they bad?'

They said,

'The [elder] one

who died and went away,
 he saw

4610

4650

4620

4660

4630

4670

4640

4680

the evil things		the grandmother's affair,	
they brought		the agemate's affair.	
upon him.		The [younger] one	
And we		brought his ritual,	
cannot abandon it.'		which became a problem	
'Why is it		and troubled him.	
we cannot abandon it?'		But it is he	
And they said,		who owns us.	
'As our elder,	4690	So it was	
the younger one,		that we search in vain	4730
suffered,		and suffer greatly	
so we also		but still follow	
must suffer.'		the [younger] one's path.	
When they finished,		Yet we know	
God's child		that one day	
asked once more,		it will harm us.	
'If a person		The reason	
walks in front of you		that you cannot	
and says that	4700	abandon it	
he is going		is that when your elder	4740
far away,		is in trouble,	
and he goes		you don't forsake him.	
and you follow,		And so it is	
and he gets lost,		that we follow	
and you know		the being of the wild.	
that he is lost,		We know that	
then, to get to where you're		the first men	
going,		went astray	
will you follow him?'		and that one day	
And he replied,	4710	we'll suffer for it.'	4750
'If I knew the place		'How did it happen	
I was going,		that we met a being	
I wouldn't do so.'		who was our companion,	
'How was it then		yet came to deceive us	
that you knew		and we searched in vain?'	
he was lost		'Ancestor,	
and yet you followed him?'		it is because of you	
'It was		that we cannot	
an ancient affair,		abandon it.	
the grandfather's affair,	4720	That is why	4760

we could do nothing
 except be afraid.
 We followed him,
 knowing that
 one day
 we'll suffer for it.
 Do you understand?'
 'What happened to us
 so that we went astray
 and came to this point?' 4770
 One day
 a certain person
 came and said,
 'What happened
 that we
 went astray and came to this
 point?'
 And we replied,
 'One of our people
 whom we were following
 went astray. 4780
 That's why
 we too are lost.'
 And that person
 then asked,
 'If you took a path
 and went along it,
 many of you together,
 and lost your way
 in the woods,
 then realized 4790
 you had gone astray
 but knew the way home,
 would you go back?'
 He replied
 he would turn around,
 go back
 and tell people about it
 so they could go out
 and try to find them.

So he began to turn back, 4800
 to turn and take the path
 to his father's house.
 He began to go home
 and walked along
 and went into the woods.
 And he followed a person,
 the very being
 who wanted him to stray
 and who said,
 'My friend, 4810
 wait a while.'
 The man stood still
 and [the being] told him
 that he had something
 to teach him.
 And he replied,
 'There was another person
 you taught,
 my master, the younger one,
 and he went astray. 4820
 I heard about him,
 how he is there
 in the land of the dead
 and undergoes
 great suffering.'
 'What sort of suffering?'
 'He rejected God,
 rejected his words,
 rejected his works.
 Yet it was he that created 4830
 you,
 moulded your body,
 gave you legs
 gave you breath,
 and gave you a head
 so that you breathed.
 You breathed,
 yet rejected his words
 and followed your friend.

Your friend		a dry skin bag,	
knows what work	4840	he took it	4880
he will do.		and took some stones	
It was on account of this		and some roots,	
that you [found yourself]		an oyster shell	
going astray.'		and some cowries,	
'That is how		mixed them together	
I went astray.		and then said	
I was going home		that he saw something.	
and met a man		'What was it?'	
who told me		He heard the question	
I should obey him.'	4850	and tried to find out	4890
When he finished speaking,		through divination.	
what did he do?		And he said,	
'Do you see that person?'		'Wait till I divine,	
'Which person?'		divine and find out!'	
'The male being		He took the diviner's stick,	
with all his cunning,		struck the ground	
he deceived the boy		and said,	
and he stands there,		'Your ancestor,	
waits around,		the younger one,	
waits for nothing.'	4860	is in God's country,	4900
'The being of the wild,		and it's happiness	
how did he get		that he feels there.'	
that name?'		So he spoke.	
'Do you see		See the man,	
how the man turns around		how happy he is.	
and starts to follow him?		'What did he do?'	
He follows him		He laughed softly	
into the woods.		and turned again	
Do you see the man		and saw the path,	
burst out laughing?	4870	the path of helpfulness,	4910
He follows the being		which he followed.	
and goes astray.'		'Which path?'	
'Why has he gone astray?'		And he said,	
'The being of the wild		'Down that path,	
took him along		if you follow it	
into the woods.'		and know it,	
'What did he do there?'		you will help	
He took an object		many people.'	

And he told him		he saw the way ahead	
to speak so he would	4920	and said that	
know.		he greeted the Bagre elders,	4960
And he began to divine		greeted the White members,	
and told him		greeted the Black members,	
to put his hand in his bag.		greeted the hill,	
He raised his hand		greeted the pool,	
and put it in the bag.		greeted the open lands,	
When he had done so,		the red-headed people	
what did he do next?		and the black-headed ones.	
He told him		He greeted them without delay	
to take out an object.		and went on his way	
What was it?	4930	to the river bank.	4970
He took out		'It was the old man	
my leather bottle,		with the pipe in his mouth	
the Bagre container.		and I greeted him	
And he told him		without delaying.	
to tap it.		Red-headed people	
After he'd done so,		and black-headed ones,	
he put it down gently		I saw them all	
and took a bell		and greeted them together	
and a guardian		and hurried out	
and a rattle.	4940	to take the path,	4980
He took [the rattle],		and in a thick copse	
held it in the air,		there I met	
then put it on the ground,		the old man,	
held it up on his right side,		pipe in mouth,	
then on his left.		and I greeted him	
When he had done so,		and his children,	
he said		both the black-headed	
he would shake and see.		and the red-headed ones,	
He stroked his head		I greeted them all.	
and after he'd done so,	4950	When I had done so,	4990
he greeted the beings,		I hurried on,	
greeted God,		took the path	
and greeted his bag.		until I reached	
And after he'd done so		the top of a high hill	
he greeted <i>Bara</i>		where I greeted	
and then <i>Base</i> .		both the red-headed	
After he'd done so,		and the black-headed ones,	

and their initiates,		whose way	
both the White ones		do they follow?’	
and the Black.	5000	And some said	5040
I greeted them all		it was the way of God.	
without delaying		And others	
and I turned again		said that	
and ran back		it was the beings’ way.	
till I reached		He took his leather bottle	
the white cave		and he said,	
and his children,		‘If it is	
both the red-headed ones		God’s way,	
and the black-headed.		the cowries will tell me.’	
I greeted them,	5010	He watched the cowries	5050
and when I had done so,		and they denied	
I found the path		it was God’s way.	
to my father’s house.		And he said,	
I ran there		‘If it is	
and when I arrived,		the beings’ way,	
do you see something		the cowries will tell me.’	
of great importance?		He threw the cowries	
It is <i>Bara</i>		and they fell favourably.	
and the guardian		And he said,	
and the deity	5020	‘If you [ever]	5060
and the god		said that	
and the being.		the brother	
I greeted them all,		was lost,	
all of them together.		he’s lost no longer.’	
They are not cowries		A certain matter	
that I can sit counting		pressed upon him.	
one by one.’		He performed it,	
He arrived there		and when he did so,	
and when he’d done so,		what didn’t he get?	
he took a bell,	5030	He got food,	5070
put it on the ground		got cows	
and then said,		and sheep	
‘It’s the truth		and goats	
I want to tell		and chickens	
the children.		and women,	
In this affair		he got them,	
that we perform,		got them all.	

In God's country
 what is there
 to surpass this?
 Because of this,
 the children
 turned their heads
 to face the beings,
 they turned their hands
 to hold out to the beings.
 They caught them
 and began to greet.
 They greeted them,
 and when they had done
 so,
 they left this matter
 and turned to another.
 What matter was that?
 And they said,
 'As we are here
 on this earth,
 what can we do
 to beg a head
 that sits on our shoulders?
 How can we
 [learn to] speak
 the truth
 so that it helps us?
 Do you understand?'
 And they said,
 'If you want this,
 you will walk
 in your grandfather's
 footsteps
 and follow them.'
 So it was
 that we followed in vain
 and began to run,
 began to go off
 and enter the woods.
 That person

5080

5090

5100

5110

who led the grandfather
 that begat us,
 told us
 to follow him.
 We could do nothing
 but follow.
 And we heard of a matter,
 a new matter.
 'What matter was this?'
 A farming matter,
 a birth matter,
 a bow matter.
 That is why
 this matter
 we said
 was a new one.
 What can we do
 about birth?
 What can we do
 about farming?
 What can we do
 about shooting?
 We didn't know.
 And we said again
 that we would ask
 at God's place.
 God's child
 became angry
 and said,
 'That man there
 who showed the path
 for you to follow,
 and you followed,
 he is your God.
 Because of this
 we Dagaa people
 know we are lost.
 We know this.'
 Therefore
 they said,

5120

5130

5140

5150

that many should be there.		we assemble	
The god who comes,		our children [for Bagre],	
that one		sit them down	
is our god.		and give them knowledge.	
He is	5240	Then a child	
the truthful god,		who is thoughtful	5280
who taught us		will know the matter,	
what to do,		which at this time	
so all was well with us.		we still perform,	
The god with a good heart,		so that one day	
that one		we may help each other.	
is the spider		These things we do,	
who showed us		though they can't banish death.'	
God's place.		'But this our matter,	
The god with the mark between		I had thought that	
the eyes,	5250	it was able	5290
he is		to overcome	
a human being,		death?'	
the younger one.		'It can't do that.'	
The elder one,		I acquired this sense	
he is		to protect myself	
the striped god.		but it has changed	
God's child,		into a troublesome sense	
he is		for us.	
the tom-cat		It is I	
and his mate.	5260	who had this sense,	5300
The god with the white arse,		but it changed	
he is		into a lying sense.	
the male fly		I had this sense	
and his mate.		but it changed	
The thieving god,		into a treacherous sense.	
he is		I had this sense	
the being's child.		but it changed	
The lying god,		into an untruthful sense.	
he is		Too much sense	
the small being.	5270	is the thing	5310
The troubling god,		that ruins a man's head.	
he is		Too much foolishness	
the elder one's stone.		is also what	
And so		ruins a man's head,	

though not as readily.

On account of this
we searched in vain
and then turned back.

Then he said,

'How did we
change our sense again?

What sense
could change
a troublesome sense?

What sense
could change
a treacherous sense?

What sense
could change
an untruthful sense?

And he said,

'My sense
could change
an untruthful one;

this was what
said one thing
and then denied it.'

He finished speaking
and began to cry out
and the people
became quiet.

They did so
and began to speak
about what had finished.

What matter was that?

The suffering matter.

What matter?

The treacherous matter.

What matter?

The untruthful matter.

And who

is your untruthful person?

The being's child

is my untruthful person.

He it was
who deceived me
about the ways of God
so I fell into error,
and one day

I suffered greatly.

If you ruin some matter
and offend your fellows,
you can make it good.

If you ruin some matter
and offend God,
you can do nothing.'

'What was it
that offended God?'

'It was rejecting his words.'

'What was it
that offended God?'

'It was leaving his ways.'

'How was it

I went astray
from God's path?'

'I declare

it was

the spider

who is the one

who knows God,
and I began to follow.

When I did so,
an evil person . . .'

'Who is
your evil person?'

'The being's child,
he is

my evil person,
whose evil

led me astray,
whose evil

ruined my thoughts.'

And now

the younger one

5320

5360

5330

5370

5340

5380

5350

5390

reached God,		the treacherous person.	
who made him undergo		He follows	
much suffering.		the boy	
'What suffering?'		who is thoughtful	
'He rejected his words;		and is always there	
that is why he underwent	5400	to teach you.	5440
much suffering.'		This takes	
'What suffering?'		three years.	
'The suffering,		You know	
that is		the affairs of God	
going astray.		bring great suffering.	
I knew		But I hold it,	
I had to suffer.'		keep it in my hand	
Children,		and look after it.	
do you see?		I understand	
Children,	5410	in two days' time	5450
do you hear?		we'll enter	
Women,		the White Bagre room.	
do you hear?		I understand	
This thing		in three days	
which must be hidden,		we'll enter	
is hidden with us.		the White Bagre room.	
If I teach you,		I think that	
and teach you everything,		on the third day	
hold it		we'll enter	
with your right hand,	5420	the White Bagre room.	5460
hold it		When I go in,	
in front of you,		if a young lad	
hold it		begins to speak	
with pleasure.		and does so well,	
And so		he's like an old guinea cock	
he told the children,		which begins to peck,	
in this matter		pecks and leaves for others,	
he doesn't follow		pecks briskly.	
the lying person.		This is what	
In this matter	5430	pleases me,	5470
he doesn't follow		for the children	
the untruthful person.		to know it.	
In this matter		We will greet	
he doesn't follow		you, Bagre god;	

we will greet
you, being's god;
we will greet
you, Bagre guardian;
we will greet
you, being's guardian.
And that is why
I say to you,
in this room,
it is a many-sided matter.
I cannot
teach you it all.
To show you
would take
three years,
or even six.
That's why
they call it
the Black Bagre.
It is
a matter of childbirth.

5480

5490

That's why
they call it
the Black Bagre.
It is
a matter of bows.
That's why
they call it
the Black Bagre.
It is
a matter of farming.
That's why
they call it
the Black Bagre.
It is
a matter of chicken-
breeding.
That's why
they call it
the Black Bagre.
And now it is finished,
I tell you.

5500

5510

SUMMARY OF THE BLACK BAGRE

Invocation (1). The two men are troubled by the supernatural powers and the younger sets off in search of a solution (11). He meets a river being who shows him how to cross the river (39). On the other side he meets an old man who asks him about his troubles (106). In the forest beyond he meets the beings of the woods (131). These beings of the wild show him how to eat corn (153), and how to cook porridge (177), and how to smelt iron (212), and how to make fire (240). They build a smelter (263). They forge an iron tool (309). They called it a chisel (364). They make a hoe (370), and show him how to use it (393), and how to grow corn (410). The younger one then decides to approach the supernatural powers (431). When he has prayed to them, he sees the rain and the earth having intercourse (451). The earth gives birth to a slender tree (464). He tries to climb up to the skies by way of the tree (479). He falls down, but is helped by the spider (485). They find the old man in the skies, surrounded by animals (505). The old man tells him to bring some earth (521). Then he calls a slender girl and shows them how to create children out of the earth (530). The old man's wife, a wise old woman, shows the girl how to care for the child (645), and how to deal with the afterbirth (663). She tells her the child came from her belly (735). The girl argues and tells the story of how she came by the child (741). One day the younger one passes by and sees the child (821), which he then wants to take with him (832). They argue about the ownership of the child and the old woman hurries up to find out what the quarrel is all about (839). She suggests they take the matter to the old man (872). The old man asks the girl about the cause of the quarrel and she tells her story (893). He asks the same question of the younger one (901). As they cannot agree, he asks the child, who replies that the younger one is his father (950). The younger one tells how he found the child in the skies (978). The old man adjudicates the ownership of the child by seeing whether the man or the woman can urinate more accurately down a hollow reed (1079). The younger one wins and is awarded the child (1111). He takes the child to his house (1154). He shows him his shrines (1164). The wet season comes and the child starts to farm (1171). This pleases his father very much (1185). But a scorpion bites the child (1197) and the younger one hurries off to see a diviner (1207). There he meets the girl who again claims the child (1240). The younger one consults a diviner, who lays out his gear (1279). He diagnoses a deity as the cause of the trouble (1330); it is the deity of meetings, that is, of Bagre (1340). The younger one thanks every one concerned (1347), including the diviner's bag (1357). He then goes home and calls his son (1384). Later on the boy sees the girl and recognizes her as his mother, despite his father's objections (1408). But the mother leaves without him (1472). The younger one goes to the woods and meets a being of the wild (1483), whom he asks to teach him how to

make a bow (1501). The being then sends his child to take the younger one to the blacksmith's house in order to get some arrows (1559). He tells the blacksmith how the being's child taught him to make the bow, which he brings with him (1576). The smith tells his child to make some charcoal (1631). Then he works the forge's bellows (1678). He heats a worn axe-blade and beats it into an arrow point, which he fixes to a reed (1720). The being's child and the younger one return with the bow and arrow (1736). When the younger one arrives home, his son rushes out to meet him and inquires about the bow and arrow (1759). The younger one shows his son how to shoot (1790). The boy gets hold of the bow and shoots his mother while she is sweeping the room (1809). The father stops her from beating the child (1836). Two days later the boy shoots his father (1849). This time the mother stops him from beating the child (1871). A dove eating corn at the foot of a mortar is killed by a hawk (1890). The boy thinks he has shot the dove and takes it to his father (1906), who shows him how to divide up the meat (1922). The mother asks how they will get another child (1931). The father says he will go and see God about it (1941). Meanwhile the woman goes into the bush and sees a boa constrictor and his wife playing a game (1952). She asks the snake to play the same game with her. He does so, she is pleased, and he tells her that this is the way to get children (1984). She goes home and shows the man what to do. He too is pleased (2007). The man still wants to go to see God, but the woman refuses (2025). Sometime later her belly swells (2040). The man becomes afraid and wants to see God, but the woman tells him not to worry (2045). Sometime later her belly aches and he goes to see the beings of the wild (2072). The being divines for him and says that his wife has given birth to a child (2084). He goes home and finds a baby crying (2160). The old woman tells him God gave it to the girl (2181). He refuses to believe this and wants to call the child Der (2199). The old woman repeats that God sent him and his name is Number Nine, because ten children will follow him (2230). They have ten more children, and all grow to manhood (2257). One day the father gets God's child to show them how to shoot (2273). Later they aim at an antelope and miss it (2297). God's child shoots the antelope and in searching for it comes across some beings in a hole in the ground (2305). They show him how to make poison for his arrows (2332). He goes home and shows his father, who refuses to believe him (2397). He goes into the bush and shoots a roan antelope (2448). The father divides the meat in the proper way (2486). Some time later they see a buffalo and her calf (2503). They kill the buffalo but leave the calf (2521). Some time later the younger one and his sons see a beautiful girl near their farm (2578). The sons want to marry her (2600). She gets them to have a shooting contest (2616). God's child hits the target (2643). The little old woman takes the girl to the father's house (2661). She becomes suspicious of the girl (2688). God's child returns from the farm and takes her to his room, where she refuses to lie on any of the skins (2710). When he produces the buffalo skin she bursts into tears, for it is her mother (2739). She asks him how he killed the buffalo (2760), and what would he do if a dangerous animal tried to kill him (2786). In reply to her questions,

he tells her of his various stratagems, until the old woman warns him (2804). One day God's child goes to the farm and asks his wife to follow with some food (2819). She avoids her companions, follows him and changes into a buffalo (2844). She charges her husband, who shoots and misses (2862). He escapes by adopting the stratagems he had told her about (2867). She does exactly the same until he comes to the point where the old woman stopped him. Then he changes into a needle and hides in her tail (2878). She gives up the search and he gets away (2893). So you should take the advice of the old woman (2917). Why? ask the young men (2922). Because even God's child, who knows more than all of the children, didn't know this (2928). They are reprimanded for their ignorance (2955). The narrator explains about Bagre (2981). It is something that troubles us (2990). It came from the first people who left it behind when they died, and we didn't know what to do (2998). It is the younger one's way we follow (3018). The beings took him to the woods and showed him everything, except about death (3023). Then he showed us how to hoe, to eat, to brew beer, to grow corn and to kill wild animals (3031). Then one day he died and we were afraid (3045). We didn't know what to do and tried in vain to find an answer (3049). Then we realized that the Bagre was the affair of God and the beings of the wild (3061). So we returned home, to learn about Bagre, to get to know more than the first people (3066). For we had followed their lying ways and did so in vain (3089). But they have taught us some things such as farming, which came from God (3110). They ask why girls cannot farm (3121). Because they cook food, sweep, make fires, fetch water, and build up people's houses (3136). How do they build up other people's houses? (3152). Because they must give birth and suffer (3165). They all disperse homewards (3171). About arrow poison (3181). The younger one's son, Der, goes hunting (3196). When he returns, he calls for some water (3218). His wife refuses to bring it to him (3230). So he commits suicide (3237). Many people come to the funeral. They now realized that arrow poison could kill a man (3247). There is a quarrel (3265). A man is shot (3274), and God's son has his revenge (3278). Two days later a girl goes to the market (3299). She is invited to drink by two twin brothers, Ziem and Naab (3311). Her husband approaches angrily (3322). He shoots Ziem (3342). This starts a fight between the two kin groups (3358). An old man brings the fighting to a stop (3376). The elders get together and inquire into the cause of the matter (3394). It started with Der's suicide (3420). Suicide is not a man's way out (3459). If you are angry, go out and shoot a wild animal (3468). One day the younger one tells his children that they will know God when they die (3489). God created man. But they give him nothing (3520). So they made a shrine for God (3534). They catch a cock to sacrifice (3604). If it falls with legs outstretched, they know the shrine is really for God (3619). The being of the wild turns the cock so that it is accepted (3625). The elder finds the matter confirmed by the being's deception (3648). As a result, they go on with the performances (3669). The children should learn it well, so they can help each other (3678). He speaks of the Bagre animals (3702). There is more trouble on earth caused by the beings of

the wild (3726). The beings are asked if they created man, to which they agree (3740). The younger one asks about God (3747). He tells how he went to God's place and came back to the Earth shrine and found the beings (3763). The being asked what the Earth shrine is (3776). The younger one tells how he and the elder one dwelt on a flat stone. They had nothing and went to God's place to find out about this (3802). Returning home, the elder one died. The younger one lived with the corpse until it putrefied (3810). One day one of the beings called him into the woods, where he spent three years and was taught many things (3829). He returned home and the being showed him how to build a house (3843), and how to make a flat roof (3863). He inquired about his elder brother (3922). The being told him to sacrifice a fowl every year, which he does (3929). The being asked what the name of the place was, and he replies, *tengaan*, he sleeps on earth. He explains about the Earth shrine (3968). They ask who created man and what are beings of the wild (4014). The being explains in a roundabout way (4019). The being says that he created man (4072). But we know from the younger one that God created all things (4105). Napolo, the younger one's eldest son, asks a question (4133). 'Why did God create us?' (4153). He created us to do his bidding (4165). And he put someone on earth to see to our troubles (4170). These were the beings of the wild (4198). God replies that if you accept his word then you must reject that of the beings of the wild (4202). The ancestors rejected God's word and followed the beings of the wild, so he withdrew (4230). Napolo asks what happened on earth (4237). We met a certain person who deceived us and we followed him in vain (4244). It was God who gave us the hoe (4264). The beings deceived us and we went off to visit Heaven (4280). We had agreed to follow God (4297), but were deceived (4306). They asked how they could repair the harm (4326). God replied that he would show them a way, but that meanwhile someone else wished to speak (4334). It was the Earth shrine who says, God created me, and put me on earth (4348). But I cannot speak to humans, nor they to me (4357). One day the two men came and slept on me. The elder died and the younger one took to the woods (4364). After three years he returned with some other people and they made a sacrifice to me (4378), but I didn't speak (4392). Two days later they came again and performed another sacrifice (4472). Because of this I came to see God (4487). God arranges to protect the Earth shrine from people by means of a skin (4498). The younger one announces that he is lost. God asks how? He says the being of the wild led him astray (4510). God asks the younger one if he saw the being on earth (4524). The younger one replies that he had heard him; he came to his house (4531). To test him, God asks the younger one to call the being to come over (4556). But he does not come (4564). How is it, God asks, that you can claim to understand his affairs, yet he did not answer when you called him? (4567). God called him and he came (4576). At God's behest, the younger one repeats what he had said earlier, that God created him (4586). But the being had deceived him (4599). The being admits he was created by God but asks how he could deceive a fellow creature, whom God had made so different (4614). He claims the

younger one left God of his own accord (4647). God addresses the younger one, asking him if now that he has come to see him, he knows what to do. He says that he does not know (4652). Younger one, when you wandered and saw how things were, you should have warned the rest of us, so that we would abandon the beings. For they are bad as well as good (4666). Why bad? (4677). Because the elder one had died, after suffering greatly (4678). So we cannot abandon his path (4686). God's child asks why it is that you follow someone who has gone astray (4695). Because it is a traditional affair, we follow it even though we suffer (4718). When an elder is in trouble, you don't forsake him; so we follow the beings (4741). We went astray and will suffer for it (4769). On his way he met the same being who first led mankind astray (4802). He speaks to the being about leading his master, the younger one, astray (4817), and leading him to deny God (4827). But the being succeeds in leading the son astray too (4851). He takes his diviner's bag and empties the contents on the ground (4878). He says that the younger one is happy in heaven and that his descendants should follow his way (4904). He continues to divine (4921). He begins by greeting all the supernatural beings (4951), the old man with the pipe (4971), the high hill (4994), the white cave (5006), and the shrine at the father's house (5018). Then he takes the diviner's bell (5030) and divines with the cowries to see whether this is the way of God or of the beings (5040). The cowries show it to be the way of the beings, not of God (5053). So they are lost no longer (5062). By following this matter, he got food, animals, and women, as much as is to be found in God's country (5067). So now the people turned and followed the beings (5081). But they are still worried about the truth (5093). They are told, 'If you want what the younger one had, then you must do what your grandfather did' (5105). They heard of a new matter that concerned farming, birth, and the bow (5123), and they went to ask God about it (5140). But God's child is angry and says that the being is their God (5143). That is why we are lost, completely lost (5150), and follow the beings' path (5166). So they begin to perform the Bagre (5193). Why did God let us lose our senses? (5222). God gave us sense and we failed to use it (5227). So we begin Bagre by praying to God that other gods should be there (5233). These gods are explained (5237). We teach the initiates these things (5274). But they cannot banish death (5287). His sense has changed (5294). It was the being's child who deceived him and made him offend God (5353). He rejected God (5357). This is what caused them to suffer (5390). The initiates are asked if they understand (5408). They are taught how to hold the leather bottle containing cowrie shells which they are given during the Bagre ceremony (5417). The initiates are encouraged to learn the Bagre (5436). Two days from now they will perform the white Bagre (5450). Even a young lad can recite (5461). But to teach all about the Black Bagre would take a long time (5483). It is for birth, hunting, farming, and raising livestock (5995).

NOTES TO THE BLACK BAGRE

1. I find the construction of the opening phrase obscure; K. G. first suggested, 'For the sake of God', a modification of my own translation. Girault gives the opening phrases of Bagre as follows (1959: 333):

mwin tî	Dieu était au commencement.
mwin bo n'o?	Que fit Dieu?
mwin yoghri	Dieu donna une impulsion.
yoghre îr nibè:	Celui qui donne l'ébranlement créa les hommes:
kā kworbè	le cultivateur de mil,
nō gwōlbè	l'éleveur de poulets.

The sentence *o tin a yir*, means 'he laid the foundation of the house'; *ulo ti ku ti*, 'he began it for us'. This translation is therefore adopted here.

It does seem to be God that is being addressed. Lines 5234 ff. read:

we begin Bagre
by asking God
that many should be there.

This passage is followed by the key to the gods that appear in the invocation.

An alternative version of the opening was given to me by K. G. as a comment upon the key to the end of the Black Bagre (B. 5265). I reproduce it all because of its great interest. Note the counterpoint behind the insults and praise names offered to God (or god), and the association of dead and living, made explicit in the notes. He writes: 'I do not think the description of God as a thieving god has anything to do with the non-initiates (*dakume*) who steal the bambara beans on the eve of Bagre Night. . . . To me, *ngmin naayuo*, although literally a thieving god, is a sort of exaltation of the God, *ngmin*, the God with many features. This appears in the Birifu version as:

ngmin ti	god began,
bəbə ngmin	the god of initiates.
maa buəl fu	I call you,
fu sɔə baar	you answered me.
kā n lɛ tu	Then I insulted you,
ngmin gagaara	a lying god,
ngmin naayuo	a thieving god,
tu lɛ zu	I abused and greeted you,
ngmin po paal	a loving (fulfilling) god,
ngmin nyɔ tuən	a god with mark between the eyes.
faa yel ka	You told me
kā nyɔə bɛrɛ	to approach the 'elders'.
bɛrɛ bɛ nyinɛ?	Where are the elders?
lieb bufule	Turned to maggots

liɛb kpɛ teung	and gone back to earth.
faa yel kaa	You told me
kā nyɔɔ bili	to approach the young ones.
bil be nyine	Where are they?
liɛb bufule	Turned to maggots
liɛb kpɛ teung	and gone back to earth.

In this Birifu version the *berɛ* and *bili* link the White and Black Bagre together. In the White Bagre it was *tɔ kpɛɛ* who could not sleep because in a vision he had seen God who told him wonderful things about Bagre. So the next day he went to the diviner to inquire. But now *tɔ kpɛɛ* (plural, *tɔ berɛ*) has turned into maggots and entered the earth. Similarly with *tɔ ble* (plural, *tɔ bil*).

Each section of Birifu will begin Bagre only if the elders of the section receive a vision from the *ngmin* (god) telling them to do so. Here *berɛ* are the elders of yesteryear—i.e. forefathers, ancestors, etc. Similarly *tɔ bil* are the youngsters of yesterday but the forefathers or ancestors of today.'

An earlier version from the same source began:

ngmin ti	god began,
sāākum ngmin	grandfather's god,
makum ngmin	grandmother's god,
ma buol fu	I call you,
ngmin po paal	god with a good heart,
ngmin sɔɔ goba	the god with stripes.
fu sɔɔ bar	You answered me
kā n lɛ tu	and I abuse you,
ngmin naayuo	thieving god,
tu lɛ zu . . .	I abuse and greet.

2. The invocation used in the Black Bagre represents a radical shift from the invocation in the White. There the major categories of supernatural agency were addressed. They were addressed in a double capacity, both as causes of the present difficulties and as the sources of help in the ceremony which was aimed at solving those problems. Here it is the god of the initiates that is addressed together with the other agencies appearing in the myth. The 'key', in a very deliberate sense, is provided at the end (B. 5233). Meanwhile it should be said that 'the god who comes' is there revealed as the Bagre deity.

The other named deities addressed also refer to the Bagre ceremony. 'The mark between the eyes', 'the black and white stripes', and 'the white arse' all refer to the way in which the neophytes are treated when they are whitewashed. The epithets, thieving, lying, and troubling, link up with other aspects of the Bagre (see B. 5265 ff.).

12. The byre is the only room of a LoWiili house that has an external door; the room does not communicate with the rest of the house. It is here that the ancestor and other shrines are to be found.

13. In the White Bagre, it was the elder of the two companions (brothers) who began. Here it is the younger one.

21. *Base* is a clan shrine as well as a medicine shrine. In B. 1381 it is described as 'the owner of the house'.

23. I translate the verb *puoru* as 'greet', though it also means to pay one's respects to a person, to pay him obeisance, to thank, or to worship. In itself the verb is devoid of hierarchical significance, though it is always the junior who first 'greet' the senior. 'To greet softly' is to approach someone in a respectful manner. In this context, it does not mean that the younger one sacrificed to the shrine *Base* but rather that he acknowledged it. Indeed the term is not used for a major sacrifice, though *bun puoru* ('a thing of greeting') does describe an initial offering made to pave the way for a subsequent transaction of greater substance (Goody 1962: 405); this category would include small offerings of grain made to all household shrines when the harvest is gathered in or the kind made when a man sets out upon a journey. In B. 446-50 the greeting of the supernatural agencies is apparently purely verbal, the equivalent of an invocation (*kaab*, which I also translate as 'pray').

32. The canoes used locally are dug-outs. Formerly any traveller in the wet season would need to make a river crossing either by canoe or by holding on to a large gourd (Binger 1892: ii, 81). It is a canoe that transports the dead to the other world across the River of Death (Goody 1962: 371 ff.).

41. One of the beings of the wild that inhabit the river.

44. Leaves draped from the rear of the waist were the usual wear among the 'pagans' of the savannah country, though 'Mossi' cloth, purchased from itinerant traders from the north, was worn on special occasions. The leaves are as characteristic of a woman as the quiver is of a man.

49. The stone is a stepping-stone on which he treads before entering the dug-out canoe. I have altered my original wording, which was *kure* (iron).

53. The form 'begins to' (*iŋg na*) is a recurrent formula of Black Bagre. In both texts such phrases punctuate the composition, though perhaps this is also a device for giving the Speaker time to think what follows. I have been told that the formula *iŋg na* is used regularly in the White Bagre and *ire na* in the Black, but the present text does not bear this out.

70. The being of the wild paddles the canoe across the river. *Vuur* is the usual word for paddle.

82. This is the usual way of carrying the axe-adze, which is used as a defensive weapon.

89. The stick used to moor the boat.

94. The frog and the reed are river objects; I am not aware of any other significance the LoWiili attach to them here, though the former is included among the Bagre animals (W. 4569). *Pure* is a type of tree with a sour fruit which is used as a laxative; I might have mistaken this for *kpure*, a grove by a river or swamp. N.B. *tɔ* = to pound, *tɔɔ* = to pull.

106. The old man reappears later in his proper abode, that is, heaven.

117. The line is too long for the rhythm.

119. This is one of many shifts of person and similar changes between direct and indirect speech. In analysing a literary work, one would be correct in demanding a specific 'functional' explanation for any such change. The very nature of the written medium demands a high degree of consistency in these respects, the work itself being constantly open to retrospective checking on the part of both author and reader. But oral delivery moves in a single direction for both reciter and audience; moreover the immediate context of transmission is of far greater significance. The shifts to the first person are partly the result of the reciter switching from reporting a scene to acting it, and the significance of such changes may lie in the field of reciter-audience reaction, desire to obviate boredom, or to impress upon the initiates the importance of the occasion and the lesson, and upon other considerations of a similar kind. The consistency, one might say rigidity, that characterizes literate forms is not a requirement of oral composition, at least to the same extent.

128. In Tallensi, *Naawun yela ba mar' wɔmhug*; M. Fortes suggests 'God's doings bring great burdens'.

129. The encounter with the 'old man' is a brief one. Having crossed the river the younger brother goes deeper into the forest where the beings show him the main elements in man's technology. The river has some similarities with the River of Death since God's dwelling place, in one sense, lies on the other side. So that the encounter with God perhaps establishes his role as creator and in this sense superior to the beings of the wild. The relationship emerges more clearly towards the end of the narrative.

133. The 'key' which is provided at the end (B. 5233) differentiates between three 'beings of the wild'. The being himself (*kɔntɔme*), the child of the being (*kɔntɔm bie*), and the small being (*kɔntɔm ble*). I did not at first realize that a tripartite distinction was being made and, owing to the similarity of the written forms *bie* and *ble*, and of the abbreviations used, I may have made a mistaken attribution in dealing with these characters.

145. Overpowered me spiritually so that I began to wander off the normal path.

151. The younger brother appears to be telling God the story of how he found himself in the forest. But there is another shift from description to participation and he begins to enact rather than recount the events he experienced. God is set aside until later.

154. 'Caught' is also a metaphorical usage describing the influence of supernatural agencies on a man when they want him to establish a shrine in their name.

158. Guinea corn: the word is also used more generally for grain.

159. This is not a myth of agricultural origins alone. Man owes all his technology to the beings of the wild, including the bow.

167. The line is too long for the rhythm.

169. His right hand, of course.
184. The LoDagaa would smile at this suggestion. For them the deeper meaning of this passage has to do with man's dependence upon supernatural agencies even for the basic productive and reproductive processes.
212. Low-grade iron ore (laterite) is widely distributed in West Africa and smelting occurred almost everywhere. There was a lot of iron produced among the LoDagaa, judging by the extent of the remains of recent smelting operations.
246. *o'a*, *o ba*, he has (high tone on *ba* makes it negative).
296. K. G. suggests an extra line: *o'a yel kaa*.
299. *kpib*, *gbili*, quiet.
302. *fɛɛ* represents the air rushing out of the bellows.
327. *mhuɔli*, to beat flat; *ɔla*, to bend up.
334. He held the iron with his tongs (*kyeba*); the sense is cut short.
342. Or *gwoli*, to spring round (R. T.).
374. The term 'left-handed' (*gobasob*) is used to describe diviners and smiths; the former grasp their divining sticks with their left hands.
380. The line is too long for the rhythm.
421. 'God's child' is the 'son' of the younger brother (see B. 1270), who is also called Napolo and was created during the younger brother's visit to heaven. Here it is perhaps a term for the younger brother. The original is 'god's child'; the phrase is sometimes used in a general sense, e.g. B. 4355-6, 'God's children are many'.
436. See B. 23. The verb *puoru* I translate as 'greet' and also as 'thank'; here it refers to the dead and hence implies worship, but the LoDagaa do not usually distinguish verbally between communication with the dead and communication with the living, except as far as 'prayer' (*kaab*) is concerned.
453. *dindam* refers to size; one can say of an elephant, *o ara dindam*. The word is used only of animals and men.
454. The analogy between vegetable growth and human fertility is drawn yet more clearly here than in the White Bagre.
464. Or possibly *woyo* (R. T.).
466. The earth's child, the tree, stands opposed to God's child, man, though God created all.
468. The last 340 lines (from 130) can be taken as an account to God of the younger brother's meeting with the beings of the wild. The story now reverts to the encounter with God himself. The intercourse of rain and earth gives birth to a slender tree which provides a ladder to heaven.
485. The spider (also *ngminder* or *munder*, a specific type of spider) is here, as elsewhere in the savannah country, a hero, even a trickster. In this particular scene it is his ability to produce a web that makes him so useful

to man. Spider tales, though not as numerous as in Ashanti, are told at night by groups of children and adults. But, writes K. G., they are not connected with 'Bagre reality' but are considered as 'fairy tales'.

487. Or possibly *kyā kyaari*, to stand astride something (R. T.).

489. The word *nikipēē* is difficult to translate, since it means 'old man', 'big man', or 'elder'; the phrase 'big man', often used in West African English and in New Guinea pigeon, seems misleading here. It refers to an important person (see also B. 524, 596, 742, 4756).

492. *baalu* or *zuom* (adv.), sitting without moving or talking; here 'leave it quietly'.

508. In centralized societies in the region chiefs sit on skins, but the LoDagaa rarely do so.

512. The dogs were a feature of the first encounter with God; here God is again accompanied by some of the larger and more important wild animals.

527. The subject is God. He takes some earth in order to create (or re-create) humanity.

532. 'Slender girl' is of course a stock phrase in both parts of the Bagre.

537. The explicit associations of pot and okro are with container (vagina) and sexual fluids. The okro has a thick, white glutinous fluid which is often compared, in a ritual context, to semen and the white of an egg (Goody 1962: 113).

547. The imagery is of course of procreation.

560. The younger one is told to take his left hand, used for sanitary purposes and for other 'dangerous' tasks.

570. This could be cat or leopard, but *luwa* is used for leopard in B. 514. *nanyu* is the LoSaala term for cat; in Birifu the word is *diubaa*.

576. Those with whom I have discussed the matter saw no special significance in the cat and the fly. 'The cat digs; the fly hovers around food, defecates and goes off again' (K. G.). 'Bagre food brings many flies; the non-initiates are like flies, coming only for food' (K. G.). None of these responses assign any specific relevance to these animals.

579. *nye* (low tone), shit; high tone, see. The reference is to the laying of eggs (1111).

584. The meaning of the discovery (virtual creation) of the child by cats and flies is not understood by those with whom I have discussed this matter. Nor is it at all clear to me as an observer, though one could offer a comment about the participation of the animal world, wild and domestic, in the creation (or perpetuation) of mankind. N.B. *kuwri*, to scratch; 'yeb, to pinch, grip.

647. *bic*, wise, but also strange.

651. Every 'family' has certain leaves which it uses to prepare an infusion to bathe new-born children and their mothers.

712. In Tale *pen* is the vagina; here it is the pubic area of both men and women. The Waala call their pubic hair *pen koolung*, though in Birifu they prefer *yo koolu* for men (*pa koolu* for women). A man can say *n pen paala*, I want to urinate (lit. my *pen* is full).

774. M. Fortes points out that in Tallensi the equivalent would mean 'circling round and round'; but no such implication is present here.

776. The concept of *dienɔ*, play, here (as often) refers to sexual intercourse.

847. K. G. comments: "This line is too long and out of place. It should have been line 845 and the reciter should have corrected it in the following way:

<i>le leura</i>	Changing the theme,
<i>maa yel ka</i>	I said that
<i>bi ma na</i>	the mother
<i>ni to ble,</i>	and the younger one,
<i>bi bein iɔng</i>	for the sake of a child,
<i>baa iɔng na gɔ</i>	they were about to quarrel.
<i>pɔɔ nyɔɔ biɛ</i>	The wise old woman
<i>duur wa ta</i>	hurried over,
<i>o'a nye lee</i>	saw what was up,
<i>le yel ka</i>	and then said . . .'

851. *gomɔ* means dispute as well as noise; the two ideas are closely interwoven since most noise is human noise and indicates a quarrel.

981. This is not the only time when there appears to be an identification of the spider and the elder brother. See the references to the younger and elder brother going together to heaven in the later sections of the myth (B. 3802). But 'brother' is also used in a very general sense.

1033. It is clear from this passage that it is God who directs the younger brother to the 'child' of the being of the wild, by whom he is shown many things.

1059. The younger brother has the earth, the girl has the pot (vagina), God has the okro (semen).

1099. The test administered by God is somewhat weighted in favour of the man; it indicates male dominance and virilocal marriage rather than patrilineal descent.

1217. The guinea corn, which was to pay the diviner, is first shown to the household shrines.

1266. To 'laugh softly' is perhaps better translated as 'to smile'. As in English (and as with 'laughing loudly'), this act can generate mutual pleasure or interpersonal hostility.

1270. Concerning Napolo, see W. 883, B. 421.

1300. Concerning the bell, see W. 2016.

1302. The wooden figures are known as *baatibe* or *bɔtibe* and are used in divination (Goody 1962: 368).

1318. The neck of the bottle is knocked so that the cowries fall out and give the answer to the question. There are usually twelve cowries so that the answer is not simply limited to a binary yes-no, although the shells are also used for this more limited purpose (e.g. 'falling favourably').

1352. These are not specialist occupations; most people engage in all these tasks at one time or another. The reference seems to be to humanity going about its business.

1445. The duality of parenthood is continually stressed throughout the Bagre.

1502. That is, about the bow.

1537. The bamboo is sometimes grown in clumps near houses and sometimes taken from the woods. The 'bow-string' is made of a sliver of bamboo and is fixed to the bow by leather loops. To tighten the 'string' ready for shooting the bow-stave has to be bent and the leather loop raised a notch, a task requiring a lot of strength.

1564. The 'small hoe' and the 'blunted axe' are discarded tools, the iron of which is then used for making arrows.

1664. The smith's son is charged with making the charcoal used in the smithy.

1685. K. G. comments that the narrator appears to have got the sequence out of order. When this happens, he should alert the audience to his mistake by introducing a comment like the following:

<i>ala ba baari</i>	This is finished.
<i>ti'a bar ala</i>	We leave this
<i>le leɔɔra</i>	and go back.
<i>sāānsob no</i>	The smith
<i>de o gani</i>	took a skin,
<i>burdaa gan</i>	the skin of a he-goat,
<i>ir o miur</i>	and a rope
<i>boor kpil puɔ . . .</i>	from a small granary . . .

Then l. 1700 should read:

<i>ka ba naa</i>	This is where
<i>ka ti dɔɔ tua</i>	we left off.
<i>yaa nyɛ bie</i>	You saw the boy
<i>o'a ir zĩ be</i>	go and squat down
<i>a sāān zu iɔng</i>	at the head of the forge.

1732. The greatest reed of all is the one used for the shafts of arrows.

1735. Here as elsewhere in the text the process of naming an object (or a person) is seen to be a significant aspect of the process of creation.

1772. The gift of a bow makes a child into a man, or at least a male; young boys will be seen shooting small animals with their bows; little girls play different, less aggressive games.

1814. N.B. *tena nyir*, he shot and missed; *o tena puni*, he misfired.

1815. The boy achieves manhood by shooting.
1826. Lit. the big room's dust (LD. *sayr*, pl. *sage*).
1832. The leaves cover her pubes from the rear, which is where the sexual approach is made. M. Fortes points out that the shooting of the arrow may carry the added meaning of incest. Certainly it is paralleled (B. 1866) by the Oedipal aggression of the son against the father—a direct attack upon his virility. This account of the growth of God's child is a paradigm of individual development, the attainment of manhood by differentiation from one's parents, a process that inevitably involves conflict between the generations.
1833. If you hit something soft, the usual expression is *o tēna ngmib*; if hard, *o tēna ka bageng*.
1886. The father temporarily rejects his son when his virility is threatened.
1905. The clicking of the tongue is a sign of victory, a kind of ululation.
1910. Father and son are reconciled when the latter proves himself as a hunter and the farmer understands that he can depend upon him in old age. He has become a man and accepted his responsibilities. The flesh of the dove is divided between both parents who now think of having further children.
1956. See note for B. 94; *man tuur*, river bushes, climbing plants; *man nyore* (LD.), roots of river trees (*nyɔi*, roots or nostrils).
1959. The snake is a creature of the earth, often associated with its shrines; the spider, with its high-strung web, has closer links with the sky, though he plays the part of an intermediary (as a 'brother' of the younger one) between man and God, between earth and heaven. He is 'the god with the good heart' (B. 5245), though he is also accused of leading mankind astray (B. 5378).
1972. I'm pleased, *n yangan* (skin) *nome*, or *n puo* (stomach) *pelena*.
1983. The verb 'sleep' (*gan*) is used here rather than 'copulate' (*nyib*).
1988. The association of snake and penis are of course widely reported from many cultures; here it is quite explicit.
2065. Possibly divining.
2074. *ngme kyel*: a man does this as a sign of triumph, e.g. when he has killed an animal in the hunt. The phrase is also used of a call of alarm for both men and women. But when women express joy they will ululate (*kuyiir*). Woman will also *la heli* (giggle), especially when drunk; young girls do the same when wanting to attract the attention of boys.
2092. These are the contents of the diviner's bag. The fibre is used by women for weaving baskets (R. T.).
2207. Possibly *bie*, wise, but elsewhere I read *ble*, little.
2227. 'Der' is the name given to a child whose elder sibling has died. It is often thought to be the same child coming back again, not only the

'soul' (*sie*) but the 'body' (*yangan*, 'skin') as well. One way of telling a returned child is by its body marks.

2316. K. G. comments that the sequence of the story seems to require the insertion of a passage like the following:

<i>naangmin bie</i>	God's child
<i>o'a tu ulɔ</i>	followed him
<i>zɔ ti kyeni</i>	and hurried along
<i>bɔɔ nuɔr iɔng</i>	to the opening
<i>a ti nye</i>	where he saw
<i>kɔntɔmbiiri</i>	the beings of the wild.
<i>on in ngmin?</i>	What will he do?

2322. The wild animals of mankind are the domestic livestock of the beings of the wild (see W. 2690).

2361. *Strophanthus* is the active ingredient of the arrow poison.

2445. For this lineage ceremony, see Goody 1956: Plate 5 and p. 69.

2501. Earlier the dove was divided (B. 1930); among the LoDagaa, this is rarely a domestic animal, but it feeds domestically and is attacked by a wild predatory creature, the hawk. Here the 'first' formal division of game takes place, a pattern for all future distributions. Note how the norms of reciprocity among friends (*ba mine*) are more specifically tied to direct return than are those among kin; one is direct, the other indirect exchange.

2508. The following long incident is a type of transformation story found widely throughout the world. The hunt of one individual by another through a series of physical transformations is a common theme of folklore in West Africa as elsewhere. Many examples are given in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (revised, Copenhagen, 1955-8) under heading D. 615. 'Transformation combat. Fight between contestants who strive to outdo each other in successive transformations.' An example of a different kind from West Africa is found in the legend of the Dispersion of the Kusa, where 'le héros-magicien', Jagu Marê, transforms himself in order to attack the tyrant, Garaxe. 'Il se transforme en deux najas noirs qui allèrent s'introduire dans les deux babouches de Garaxe à Kélampo' (Meillassoux 1967: 122-3).

2510. *deu*, from *deungdem* (*dẽdẽ*), to stand straight; *kyen daadaa*, to go straight, at once. The word is also used for truthfulness, uprightness.

2555. The diverging interests of men and animals, of hunter and hunted, of killer and prey are clearly recognized in this narrative which generates a certain sympathy for the victims of man's search for food. I have argued elsewhere that such attitudes lie behind the animal taboos often called totemic (1962: 101, 120); I refer to those prohibitions of the kind found generally throughout Africa.

2563. The crying of the young buffalo is contrasted with man's laughter; laughter indicates both pleasure and superiority (see B. 2908).

2591. The buffalo calf who has changed (*lieba*) into a young girl.

2620. Archery practice (*tefa*) is a common sport among the LoDagaa.
2649. There is some recognition of biological heritage even though a man belongs to the patrician of his *pater* (social father, i.e. mother's husband) rather than his *genitor*.
2677. The wrist-guard gives protection against the bamboo 'bow-string' flicking against the wrist.
- 2731-5. I am ignorant of the English names for the different types of antelope.
2771. Proverbial names are very common among the LoDagaa.
2827. It is usually millet (*pennisetum*) that is eaten in the farm; the flour is mixed with water to make a browse.
2845. A new bride will normally be accompanied by a band of young girls.
2849. Women carry even the smallest 'loads' on their heads, often in their personal basket.
2921. The wisdom of old women is widely recognized among the LoDagaa. Those who have stayed in one house know as much about the shrines and medicines as the lineage members themselves; they have helped 'to build the house' by giving birth to children and are anxious to protect it from danger.
2933. You can't do anything on your own.
2937. This passage appears to be a 'wrong lead'; the narrator starts off on a certain tack and then decides (B. 2951) that he has not finished with the earlier theme.
2941. The original read *ti m'a wa yir*, which means 'we do come home'.
2947. LD. *seyo*, middle.
2950. The gesture is one of pride as a hunter.
2981. LD. *sey*, to satisfy.
3052. *ora* is probably *Landolphia senegalensis*, a wild rubber plant which has an edible seed. It is used as a fibre for tying bundles of firewood and for fastening the roofing sticks on a thatched hut. It can also be used in funeral ceremonies as a 'rope' to restrain the bereaved. The reference is clearly to death and it is suggested to me (by K. G.) that 'like the creeper, death never ends'. We tried to root out death but failed. 'We tried to save ourselves'. But there is possibly a further reference to divination (1310).
3095. *bufule*: 'an insect that sucks blood'; 'if the floor of your room is not well beaten (to give a hard surface), these animals will come out of the ground at night and suck your blood. If your children urinate on their mats or in their rooms, you will find these animals there. When found, they are buried at once.' These are maggots that feed on people's flesh and breed in damp places; they seem to epitomize the fear of the bad things of the earth.
3096. Contrary to many assumptions about societies of this kind, there is

no automatic respect given to the ways of the ancestors; these are not always right.

3103-4. Literally, 'we sat on the ground and turned back to follow the leg of the first men'; if you make a mistake, you turn back to find out what went wrong.

3107. K. G. thinks that this should read 'our problems are solved by farming'. I had earlier translated it as 'and then we saw the many matters that had come to us', i.e. farming, given to us by the younger one.

3135. The sexual division of labour is laid down.

3145. The division of labour is linked to the principle of marrying-out.

3152. The conflict between a woman's natal and affinal ties is openly recognized in this series of questions and answers.

3237. The beginning of suicide.

3277. The beginning of war.

3289. The myth is much concerned with the introduction of weapons, death, and fighting into the world. The present section treats first of suicide and then of feud.

3301. The long dress (*ganzuole*) is worn by girls who are unmarried or who have not yet given birth; from in front of the waist hang long strings of plaited grasses which reach down to below their knees.

3302. Particular markets recur every six days; they are meeting-places for people from miles around who come to make purchases, sell goods, consume food, and drink beer. It is also the place where 'debts' tend to get settled, though the market shrine places a heavy sanction on any bloodshed (Goody 1956: 104).

3306. These are the names given to twins, Ziem being the first-born.

3313. A girl is approached through a female intermediary.

3322. 'Husband' seems here to have the significance of betrothed.

3329. He flicks the bowstring against his wrist guard in a threatening fashion.

3331. 'And he said'. The narrator intersperses a comment. But K. G. thinks the phrase, '*faa nye ala*', 'you see this', would be better here.

3353. People literally run to funerals, anyhow as they approach the stand where the corpse is displayed (Goody 1962: 97).

3389. The beginning of peace.

3448. One possible implication is that sex is a substitute for war. But more specifically perhaps it is suggested that a man could gain his ends more subtly than by fighting.

3452. 'God's death' is a phrase also used when an old man dies (Goody 1962: 209); it refers to an accidental death, one for which no other supernatural cause has to be found.

3468. The younger brother advocates that those in a suicidal frame of

mind should take out their anger on wild animals. The slaughter of animals is recommended as a substitute for the slaughter of self.

3502. K. G. suggests this line would be clearer if split as:

fu na bõõ na
ti bõõna naangmin
baa le soor

3519. The other world is sometimes referred to in ordinary speech as God's country (*naangmin teung*); the idea expressed here is present elsewhere in LoDagaa thought.

3530. In Africa the creator God is rarely the object of sacrifice or similar offering.

3532. This formula looks like one for creating a rain shrine (*saa ngmin*), i.e. the pot for rain water, the oyster shell from the river, the leaves of ebony and mahogany trees. The shell and leaves are both linked with the beings of the wild. Tree-roots are associated with many shrines; indeed the word *tiib* (shrine) has an etymological connection with 'tree'. The clan elders who look after the hunting shrine are sometimes spoken of as 'the great tree-roots', since they go out to dig up the roots needed for the clan medicines.

3594. K. G. suggests that the following two lines be inserted:

<i>baa ti tu</i>	They went and dug
<i>wa iõng pu</i>	and added them to the rest.

3627. This could also mean that he turned into a cloud of dust. In any case he was invisible to the human beings.

3633. It is because of the possibility of interference by other agencies that one can never be completely sure of communication of this kind.

3637. If it lands belly downwards, the fowl is rejected by the supernatural agencies.

3652. The reference appears to be water divination but I have never seen this used among the LoDagaa.

3663. The sacrifices appeared to have been accepted when in fact they were refused.

3706. These are actual birds but I do not know their zoological names. The *kyaalipi* keeps away from water except at night; the *belibaar* sings sweetly, often high in the sky.

3737. The myth returns to the question of whether it was the beings of the wild or God who created man; the beings still claim they did so.

3747. A general question running through this dialogue relates to the problem of evil. 'If you, God, created us, why do you cause us trouble?'

3768. Earth shrines are found in every settlement and play a major part in maintaining social control (Goody 1956: 91 ff.).

3793. *pan* is a door; here the word is used to indicate flatness.

3826. Another recurrent theme is that death passes our understanding.

3873. The house that man is shown how to build is the flat-roofed kind common in the area.

3938. The younger brother makes the archetypal sacrifice to the ancestors.

4009. On the levels of Earth shrine, see Goody 1956: 91 ff.

4065. 'come near', 'reach', 'touch', often figuratively: '*ka o le ta fu, fu na baara zaa ti tu*'; if he gets through to you, you will leave all and follow him' (R.T.).

4146. *fuwr* (*gyin*), to tempt, tease, belittle, irritate or annoy; e.g. *fu fuwr o na*, you are teasing him (or her); *bibile ba fuwr o ma i*, a child does not tease his (or her) mother.

4170. There is a shift from a report of God's words by Napolo (God's child), eldest son of the younger brother, to a direct confrontation between God and his interrogators.

4179. This is, of course, the being of the wild. God establishes his position as creator, even of the beings who deceive mankind by claiming omnipotence.

4213. These are the beings of the wild.

4229. God explains how he came to withdraw from human affairs, here the Bagre. He withdrew because man rejected God.

4238. The discussion shifts back to Napolo and the interrogators.

4252. See B. 4179.

4260. As I have translated this line, it appears to be addressed to the beings.

4264. This is the first mention of the hoe having been brought down by God. He appears to be the ultimate source even of the technology the beings reveal to man.

faa has the significance of 'already': 'you had already given a hoe to us.' Yet the beings showed them how to make it. In this respect the use of the hoe parallels the creation of children.

4320. These visits to God are not mentioned earlier in the text (unless one makes certain assumptions about the identity of the spider).

4341. The 'certain person' is the Earth shrine; the 'us' seems to refer to the company assembled in front of God.

4364. The incident recounted by the younger brother is now approached from the standpoint of the Earth shrine.

4367. i.e. slept on the ground beside the shrine.

4376. From one standpoint the dead belong to the Earth in which they are interred.

4391. It is usual for the sacrificer to strike the altar with a knife or with a stone, dividing up his prayer into rhythmic units of the same kind as the lines in the present text.

4410. God now addresses the Earth shrine.

4413. The narrator interposes a question.

4441. Red hair, attributed to the younger one, is a not uncommon feature of the area.

4508. God put a covering over the earth to protect the Earth shrine (*tengaan*); this latter word, of which the text earlier gives a different etymology (B. 3984), is probably derived from the word for skin (*gan*); see Tait 1961: 35 n.i. and Girault 1959: 339 where it is translated as 'the earth's crust'.

4513. There is now a shift from the problems of the Earth shrine to those of the younger brother.

4553. 'Seeing' ghosts and other supernatural agencies is a highly regarded attribute, possessed only by few people.

4555. God addresses the being of the wild; he wishes to test him to see if he understood the speech of men and whether he could have deceived them.

4664. The sun presumably.

4675. The beings of the wild are not alone responsible for man's rejection of God.

4682. *yel bier*, pl. *yel bebe*, sins.

4686. It is the Bagre they refer to.

4696. God's child is addressing his father, the younger one.

4771. The person referred to appears to be one of the neophytes who is asking the Bagre elders why they continue to follow the wrong path. They explain (B. 4817) that not only the younger one but others too were led astray by the beings.

4819. *daana* is a Waala word meaning 'master' (i.e. *sob*). It is the younger one who is suffering in the other world.

4823. As I have elsewhere explained, the notion of punishment after death is accepted by the LoDagaa (1962: 371 ff.).

4826. God appears to be addressing mankind (see B. 4842).

4835. To breathe and to live are virtually the same concept in LoDagaa.

4901. The being of the wild tells his descendants that the younger one is not suffering in the other world. The descendant then agrees to follow the path the beings of the wild have suggested, namely Bagre. So the descendant divines with the Bagre bottle and goes to greet the supernatural agencies, especially the dwellings of the beings of the wild. In doing so he also meets the old man with the pipe, God.

4941. This is how a diviner will call upon the beings of the wild and other helpers.

4948. He shakes out some cowries.

4951. The word for 'greet' and 'thank' are the same. Again, the greeting is part of the usual divining session.

4955. Like *Base*, *Bara* acts as a clan and medicine shrine.

4966. This phrase means 'everyone'; according to those with whom I discussed the point there is no special significance in the division between red and black. The local people sometimes refer to themselves as *Dagaara zu soola*, 'Dagaa black heads', but this is not in opposition to heads of another colour. However, an opposition between black and red (the translations are only approximate) does appear in the naming of matrilineal sub-clans (Goody 1956: 83). The red heads can also be the beings of the wild (K. G.; 1383); in this case the black heads will refer to humans.

5006. The white cave refers to the 'place of the clan guardian' (*siura zie*) of the Kpiele patriclan, to which the reciter belongs. It is a shallow shelter in the scarp above Kyaa (Birifu), which cattle use as a lick.

5041. Here the argument about whose way Bagre follows becomes more precise. Is it God or the beings? Divination shows it to be the latter, for man has forsaken God. But Bagre is still valuable because it brings food, livestock, and property in this world, rather than riches in the next. Not only does it help 'birth' but, more concretely, existing members benefit from the contributions of new initiates; and its performance is always the occasion for the expenditure and transfer of much property.

5143. Although he follows a certain path, man still seeks the truth from God. But this suggestion angers Napolo (God's child) who points out that they have rejected God. We continue to perform Bagre, knowing that we have fallen into error.

5224. *n bura*, I make a mistake, *n tulina*.

5233. This passage explains the invocation to the Black Bagre, where they call upon God and the other gods. 'The god who comes' is the Bagre god. 'The god with the good heart' (the spider) is omitted in this version of the invocation. 'The god with the mark between the eyes' is the younger one, this mark being made on many ritual occasions, for example, during the Whitening Ceremony. The striped god (the black and white stripes of the invocation) is the elder one; again this refers to the whitening of the neophytes. God's child is the tom cat and his mate; this I don't altogether understand as God's child is also the child created by God, that is, Napolo. The god with the white arse is the male fly and his mate; the reference is to the neophytes sitting in the dust without stools. The being's child (*bie*) and small (*ble*) being are here differentiated—and are thought of as a thief and a liar respectively. Finally, 'the troubling god' is the Earth shrine, associated with the elder one.

5259. 'By pawing at the ground, they opened the way' (1392).

5263. 'God sees us as flies, small things, copulating' (1393).

5265. The 'thieving god' because the non-initiates steal the bambara beans (1393).

5268. The 'lying god': the small being of the wild told us that if they performed Bagre, no one would die, but it wasn't true (1393).

5271. As for the 'lying god' (1393).

5287. The initiates are now told that the Bagre medicine does not have the power attributed to it in the White Bagre.

5337. That is, he was saved by recognizing reality as it was.

5422. The reference is to the Bagre container, which the initiates now receive.

BOO PLA

ngmini / kprime / siuwe / kontome / game / ka bōor / dunō non /
 kure pīime / ɔɔr puur / ɔɔr zuri / ka tɔ kpēē / gana fāān / ir a kyi / ir
 zɔ kyena / gobasoba / k'o zur lɔb / ti yel ka / k'o ir ba nyɔɔ / ti ba
 nyɔɔ / k'o ir weni (20) / k'o ir wiɔ / k'o ir bōor / un ir wena / olɔ
 ba nu / k'o dɔɔ iri / on ir weni / ka ti iɔng na soor / bon weni / bidɔɔ
 weni / kakuɔr weni / pɔɔyaa weni / sāākum weni / makum weni /
 tamiur weni / no guol weni / yaa zɔori / kpaartiib weni / ko lo
 sɔɔ / lɛ na yaa / nikpēē-aa (40) / iɔng tiero-a / k'o ir a zom / duur
 ti ta / o sāā yir puɔ / ti buɔl biir / ka ba wa ka / ban kyeni ti ta /
 ba ba man ka / nandi woro / ban zɔ kyena / ti lɔng ta / nikpēē-ya / o'a
 ir yi / a tampuor zu / tempelo-a / kuɔ bhaaro / wa iɔng na puɔri /
 o'a puɔri-a biiri / ti yel ka / k'on puɔr yi-aa (60) / yin wa nye /
 tāāma-yaa / yi ta dire / yin wa nye / bun paala / yi ta dire / o'a yel
 ko biiri / ba yi siu / ban ti taa yira / nikpēē-na / o'a iɔng na gā /
 o'a gā gu / o'a lɛ iri / lɛ lieb kyeni / a gobasob zie / k'o ti zuu lɔb / ti
 lɛ soor-aa / ka dābie-wabna / bon dābie / dābie banai (80) / zaa
 na-yaa / ka n gā / n ba gure / alɛ na / ka n ir wa ka / wa yel ka-yaa /
 fū bōora / fu kaa mɛ / a yel nya puɔ / on yel lɛ-aa / o'a lieb kuli /
 on lieb kul-aa / o'a ta yiri / on ti ta / faa nye biiri / ka ba wa tai-
 ya / zimani / ba'a lɔng taa / ko yel ka / k'o kyena (100) / ti bɔ bɔɔ /
 ka gobasob / k'o yel ka / ka wen-yaa / ka wana / ni nīo / ka wana /
 tuɔri goba / ka wana / ni aro / ka wana / ni dɔɔb / ka wana / tamiur /
 o ba wani liebo-a / o na yel olɛ / on yel wa baara / tikye-a / ka yi
 biira / ba buɔr na kɔi (120) / ba buɔr na guole / yi ba buɔra / na
 tɛr / yel miɔng / tikye-a / ka yele-aa / i yɔɔ zuo-aa / a ti bɔbɔ-aa /
 ka dɛungdem / bɔɔ wa gu / ti kyen / ti bel ti-ya / tin na vuuro-
 aa / ban ti kyier-aa / ba naa ti-a / tɛr kyeni / a ba teung / ti pāā
 bar / ko ti-a / ka ti bɔng gu (140) / alɛ na / k'o wa de kuɔ bhaaro /
 iɔng tempelo / ti yel ka / a iɛng bhaaro / ka n bōor / o'a puɔri-a /
 ka waar ba / ti yel ba / ka ba wa / ka zima / k'o wa waa / lɛb wa
 ka / k'o wana / dib-a / k'o ba wani kōɛ / k'o tuura / nu duro / k'o
 ba tuur gobai / k'o wana (160) / yel miɔng / k'o ba wani / ziri-e /
 ka ti bōora / ka nyɔɔ vla / tikye-a / a zaa kpɛung / be na / sa ngmin
 zie / ti a zie / o kona / ti ba nye / o bome-ya / tikye-a / a teung /
 o tɛra puɔ / o tɛra puɔ ni bɔ / o tɛra puɔ / olɛ no-a / tulo (180) / na

man ta / olɛ no-a / ka ti bɔŋg ka / ti ben o puɔ / ka ol wa i / a
 ngmin-o / a wa ni yel miɔŋg-ya / o na tiɛ ti na / ka ti nyɛ-a / a kuur
 bomo / nyɛ ni bo / a sa ngmino / na dɔɔ-ya / ka bɔ̃ vaar / a ba wa /
 ti na nyɔɔ na / a tu bieri ni / a olɛ-ya / na dɔ̃ɔ ti nio / on a yela
 lɛ-a (200) / wa baara / tikyɛ-a / lɛ lieba / wa nyɔɔ / iɔŋg na tu / a zie
 ba dɔɔ / a bom vaar / a ba yi / pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ / tiɛro sob / o'a nyɔɔ a bɛŋg
 vaar / o'a bɛl ala / o'a iɔŋg tulo / iɔŋg na di-a / ka bibiira / ba nyɛ
 ala / ba buɔr na dib / k'o yel ka / a yi sãã / na yele yele-a (220) /
 yi in ngmin / di bɛŋg vaari / bi sãã na / o'a wa ta / on wa ta / ba de
 bomo / wa bin baar / bɔ̃ bonu / bundiri na / k'o buɔr na di / o'a de
 a nu / on de a nu-a / o'a ngmaa saab / su ni zier / o'a iɔŋg na di /
 wa nyɛ vaar / bonu vaar / bɛŋg vaar ba na / k'o yel ka / ka anu
 duu (240) / a zier nyɛ taaba / o na yela / wa baar-a / ti ba iri / bar
 a saab / ni a zier / ti ir yi-a / ba do a garo / ti buɔl a biiri / ban wa
 ta / ko yel ko ba / ka ba yi-a / ka zɔ yɔ-a / yele-a / ka bɔɔ sɔoli / ka
 ba yi-a / ka dayere bio / ka wa de / ka biɛŋg-na / ka bar ka (260) /
 ba ba yɔ-a / yel a bɔbɔ / ba yel wa baara / ti wa ta / a sãã yir
 puɔ / pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ biɛ / wa bɛl a bion vaar / o na bɛl-a / o'a iɔŋg tulo /
 on iɔŋg a tulo-a / ti bini / ba wa wa / ban wa ta / nikpɛɛ-na / o'a
 yel ka / ka ba nyɛ-a / a bion vaara / on yel ka / ka ba kyiiro-a /
 olɔ no-a (280) / a diɛ / yaa nyɛ / a bion vaari / a ba i zier / yi ba
 nyɛ / a bɔbɔ / baa zin lɔŋg taa / yi ba nyɛ / kyi-a / a ba i saabo /
 yi ba nyɛ-a / kɛɛ-a / a ba i dãã / ban wa ta / baa nyɛ dibɔ / ban di
 wa baara / a nandi woro / ban di baara / ti iɔŋg na gɔ̃ / ka tɔ-ya (300) /
 lɛ yel ka / ka ba bar gɔ̃mɛ / ban wa bar gɔ̃mɛ-a / k'o yel ka / ka ba
 tɔɔ ta / ban tɔɔ ta / ba ta be / k'o de-a / a kuur-a / zini-a / a
 tengaansoba / ti yel ka / ka tengaani / ka siuwe / ka weni / ka ba
 yel ka / ka bɔɔr / lɛ na yaa / ka ti iɔŋg tiɛro-a / ka ti iɔŋg na tu (320) /
 faa nyũ / a o zuur-nu / ka ti nyɔɔ / olɛ no-a / ka ti nyɔɔ / ti zɛlɛ-a /
 ka bɔ̃ buuro / na kyɛ-a / na ba yi-a / fu sɔa-ya / ka ba yi / alɛ nɛ-
 yaa / ka ti be ka / k'o yeli-a / wa baari-a / ti lɛ yel k'o / fu bɔŋg ka /
 ba na tua / ba bɔɔna / a la puori-a (340) / a ba zɛbom-ye / ti ũũ-
 yaa / a bomo-a / na tul ti-a / wa nyɔɔ ti-a / ka ti zeli-a / a zu-a /
 na dɔɔla nyu / ti a bomo / na kyɛ puori a / o na wana / wa yel ko
 ti / o ta / wa iɔŋg tulo-e / o yeli-a / yi bhaaro / ka ti yel ko a bibiir /
 ka ti a baara / ti lieb kula / a sãã yir puɔ (360) / k'o ti ta / bonu / kyɛ
 niu / nyuur-a / na-i-a / a ti bɔɔr bom / tikyɛ / o ba yi-e / tin ma
 kyeli-a / tin kyeli baara / daar kɔŋg-yaa / bi sãã / o'a yi ga wiɛ / na
 ti kɔ / on gaa-yaa / wa waar-a / a puori-yaa / wa tai-ya / faa nyɛ
 pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ biɛ / o'a kyeni (380) / o diɛm yiri / ti nyɔɔ-a / a nyuuro-a /

o'a kpiri / o'a wa tani / a sãã yir puo / o'a duuli / o'a to / bin-
 yaa / iong na uobi / faa nye / bibiiri / ba nye ala / ba ba kõno / ba
 na kõn-a / kõ bong gu / o'a yel ka / ka ba vë / ka ba sãã wa / ka ba
 i gbili-a (400) / ban i gbili-a / k'o wa ta / o'a de a nyuur / ko a bii
 sãã / ti yel ka / ko diem / ka ko a nyuur / ko yel ka ai / ka le na /
 ka bibiiri / ka ire na sãõ / ti ir-a / yel a biira / ka ba zo yoo-aa / ka
 yel-a / a boboo-aa / ka ba la yi bio / ka ba wa / ka wa de-a / a beng
 puru (420) / baa wa ta / a dayere bio-aa / ba wa ta / zi baalo-a / faa
 nye dää / faa nye saab / faa nye nyuur / faa nye biẽng / a ba i zier /
 faa nye nen / ba iong na lari / ti yel ka / ka boble-a / na dire ba
 wona / k'o dire / baa yeli / a bõo pele / ni ba nandi ne / ba ira /
 ngmaa dää (440) / a dää kpẽẽ zu / ba ngma nyuu / ka bõo k'o nyu
 a dää / ba na yela / ka dää kpẽẽ zu / ka n yel ka-ya / ba nyu, n nyuna /
 n yel le-a / ba yel baari / ya nye dib / ba dire / ban di wa baara /
 bõo pele-a / na daboo nibe / ban di wa baara / nũo ba kpe ba / ka ba
 iong na gõ / ka nikpẽẽ-na / yel ba-a / ka ba bar gõmo (460) / a ni ban
 nandi woro / ba ba yel ka / ka dib amine na / k'o yel ka / ka be tão
 ta / ban tão ta / o'a yel ka / ka yel nya / na fere tia / ti teung nya /
 tera puo-a / o ba dõo-ε / ti diẽ-a / a nyuura / ka ti kpira / a ba nyẽi /
 ti kpõo na / na naab sukyira / ya nyuu / ka ti kpiri (480) / wa iong
 tulo / ban iong tulo-a / ti le yel ka-ya / ka ti gyir-a / ka a bome-a /
 na kye a puori-a / ka ba wa yel ko ti / ka ti yel ko-a / a bibiir / ti le
 zi / ti de kuõ bhaaro / iong tempelo-aa / ti kaaba / buoli-a / ka
 ngmin / ka tengaan / ka siuwe / ka weni / ka bõor / ale na-yaa (500) /
 ka ti yi diẽ / ire na bebe / ka yi nye bomo / o'a iri / yel ka-ya / ka
 yi wa / ka zima / ka ba la le waara / ka ba waa / ni nĩo / ba taa wa
 waar ni puori-e / ka yi tuuri-a / duro-a / ba ta tuuri gobai / ka yi
 wani / na dib-a / yi ba wa ni kõi / yi i-a / ka kuur bomo / na kye-
 a (520) / ba i-ε / kaa i vla / ka ti de wa / a wiili ni-a / a bibiir / ti ti
 buora / ka ba zi / ti unu yaa / a bomo / na fere ti / yi de-o / tuno
 a sor / ka ti kyaan / le zele a sor / ka ti nye a zu / le dõola a nyu /
 tin yela / ti yel wa baara / ti bõo pele / ni daboo nibe (540) / ba yi /
 iong na gõ / ba kyeni / ba kyeni wa baari / ti kye ti / ka ti zĩa / ti ba
 yel ka / ka bon kye nio / n yel wa baar / tiersob-ya / yel ka-ya / ka
 ala na / na be a nio / ka ala na / na kye-a / ala na / a beng puru /
 ti na nyoo-a / a biere-ya / waar-ya (560) / daar kong-ya / ka nikpẽẽ /
 o'a gã / bin o wuo / nikpẽẽ-a / dãbol nu / ko gãna / kãõ dakora / ni
 o põo / zãã daar / ba zeb ta / o'a bõora põo / ka põo ba zõori / k'o
 ir-a / bibio-a / o'a yõ yuori / a ka vaar puo / o'a wa nye / a beng
 puru / o'a põri (580) / ka põo-ya / duuri ti ta-a / ti yel ka / ka bono /

k'o i ba di / k'o yel ka / ka dabora / ka zãã / ka n zel fu / a gaal
 iong / ka fu sib ma / ti yi diẽ / pɔɔ ni daba / ba ba zɛɔɔ ni / wa
 wa yi / a nikpẽẽ niu / o'a nye pla / o'a de daa / o'a lɔbo / ti yel
 ka aa (600) / ka mãã wuo / ni puo / ka a libie / ka yire / ka kyiin /
 dire / o'a lɔb bari / o'a ti de / on de-a / o'a nye / k'o i bɛng puru / k'o
 yel ka-ai / ka lɛ na ka / ka ti bibiir / ka ire na sɔ̃sɔ̃ / ka bibiiri / wa yi
 puo puo / wa ta-ya / ko yel ka / ka ba zɔ-yaa (620) / ka yɔ-aa / ka
 ye-le-a / a bɔɔ sɔoli-a / ka ni bɔɔ peɛ / ka dabɔɔ nibe / ka ba la wa
 wɔ̃ gɔ̃m / [ka ba wa ka] / on yel lɛ-a / a bibiiri / ba ba yi / zɔ yuori /
 a yel ka / dayere bio / [ba wa de bieng bar] / ba wa ta / ban wa
 tai-ya / ban in ngmin / ba yel ka-ya / ka nandi na / k'o yel ka-ya
 (640) / ka sɛɛ / ka lɛ na / ka ka vũũ / ta dire / ka ti ira / bibiiri /
 na sɔ̃sɔ̃ / ka lɛ na / k'o buɔl ba-a / ka ba wa / wa de-a / a bɛng puru /
 ka i bar / ba ba nyãã / ka ba yel ka ɔ̃ / ka ba mǎn ka / ka dib na / ba
 yel wa baari / faa nye bɛng puru / ba tu ba tub (660) / ban tu wa
 baara / ka ba yel ka / yi nye kyi / ka lieb saabo / yi nye kɛɛ / ka lieb
 dǎã / yi nye bieng / ka i zieri / ka bɛ yel ka / ka ba tu ba nɛ / ka bono
 nɛ / ba ba tier ka / nandi na / k'o yel ka-ya / ka ngmina / na wa ti
 iong / yel ka ya / k'o wana / a nǎ di / k'o ba wa lieb-o'a (680) / aɛ
 na-ya / ka n bɔɔra / ka yi tu a nɛ / ka ba yel ka / ka ngmini / ka
 siuwe / ka weni / ka kontome / ka kpime / ka bɔɔr / ka ala na / ka
 duno non / ka kure pĩime / aɛ na-ya / ka ti tɛra / a daar zaa / ira
 bebe / wa yiin diẽ / ti k'o i-a bieng / a bieng (700) / lɛ lieba / a
 zieri-a / ka kyi / lieb saab-ya / ka kɛɛ-ya / lieb dǎã / aɛ na / ka ti
 yel ka / ka fu ngmin / a ba shɔɔ bome / ti on i-aa / a sor kura / ka
 ti tuur-a / fu na sɔ̃sɔ̃ tina / ka ti de-aa / a tuni-yaa / a zeli-yaa / a
 zu / a dɔɔl nyũũ / ba yel wa bar (720) / ti kye kye diu / bɔɔ peɛ /
 ba di bar / ti iong na gɔ̃ / ka tɔ ya / yel ka-yaa / ka ba baar gɔ̃mɔ̃ / ba
 bar zoom / k'o yel ka-yaa / ka yel nye-aa / na fɛrɛ ti-aa / ka ti bɔ̃sɔ̃
 gu / k'o ina naa pɔɔ biro / ka ti pien / tina in na / ti miɔng-aa / ka
 ti man taa / bɔ̃sɔ̃ a bom / a be-a ti nio / ka tɔ-yaa (740) / lɛb yel ka /
 ka boono / ka kye-a / ka ti nio / ka ba yel ka / ka bom na kye / ka
 bɛ tiera / ka tin lieba / a nyɔɔ / a bom-nya / boona bom / a bɔɔr
 bom / na i-a / a bɔɔr wuora / lɛ na-yaa / ti na lieba / ti bɔ-a / a bɔ
 wuor / ka ba mine / yel ka-ya (760) / ka 'ɔ̃' / kaa in ngmin / ka fu
 dɔ̃sɔ̃ / waara / ba bɔi / ti lɛ lieb / wa ta / a sɔ̃sɔ̃ kɔ̃ / ti na lɛb / lɛ lieb
 puor / ti bɔ / kaa i a ib / ka kɔ̃-yaa / yel ka-yaa / a yel kpẽẽ / ba
 nu / tina bɔn / bɔ̃sɔ̃ a zie / baa lɛ nyɔɔ / ti yel ka (780) / a bɔɔ wuora /
 tin dɔ̃sɔ̃ baara / ti tana-ya / a taama / kyuuno / ka ba yel ka / ti'a
 tai / ka ba yel ka / ti na nyɔɔ na / a tǎã kyuun ye-le-aa / kyier ni-a /

an tu le ya / a zie ba bhaana / ti na in ngmini / wa nye / a taa
 kyuun / tin yela / ka bibiir / ka ba ta / wa dire-a (800) / a bun
 paala / a taama ba na / ka ti yele / ka ba la lieba / ire na di / zie ba
 bhaani / kakuor bie / no guol bie / o'a zie o loo / long ni tam /
 long ni kuur / long ni ler / ba ti ta / a puo puo / ira na ko /
 ba nye bomo / bono bomo / z̄z̄z̄ kp̄ēē / ole no-a / i'a ti boor (820) /
 nikp̄ēē / olo no poo / zi lio iong / ba diena ba dieno / o'a boor a
 poo / ka poo-a / o'a zoori / ko ira / a zi lio / o'a kyeni / a tãã tie zu /
 ti nyoo a tããm / on di-a / tikye-a / iong o nuoro / wan wa tan / o poo
 zie / wa tani-aa / poo ba nye / yel ka-yaa (840) / k'o i ko / k'o sibo /
 ti yel ka / ka aano / tiisoo iong / ka n zel fu gu / ka fu sib / ti wa
 nye n dibo / le boora / ka z̄z̄z̄ poo / yel ka-yaa / i kum-a / ti mi
 i kob / ka daba / o'a ir suuri / n ba kuro fue / ti un i-a / a ti boor
 nikp̄ēē / o'a di-o / di kye kyuun (860) / o'a de lobo / o'a lob baari /
 ka kuor bie na / on kuor wa baara / ir de kuur / o'a kpen muo /
 tambir iong / o'a ir kye / on kye b̄ gu / ti ir kp̄e-a / a tie pule / o'a
 nyũũ / a tambir / o'a kye / on kye baar / ti gyir nye bomo / ka ti
 boor nikp̄ēē / o'a bari / k'o de-a / wan a yira (880) / wa tani-a /
 nikp̄ēē banu / napolo banu / o'a gã be / ka bie wa tana / a tambir
 na / kuũ nyuur na / ba kp̄e-o / k'o de a wuo / o'a de koba / iong
 a wuo mi / o'a kyeni / o sen dãã zie / ti nikp̄ēē-a / napolo banu / on
 gã-a / wa wona / liliir ḡmo / ko yel ka / ka ba buol bie (900) / ban
 buol bie / buol b̄ gu / k'o ira / iong kuũ-a / iong kyi-a / ti tan-ia /
 a liliir zie / z̄ baalo / ti ire na iong / o'a iong ba / on iong baara / o'a
 ir tambiri / o'a to ngmeri / on ngmer baar / ti le de-a / a yen-a /
 o'a ngmeri / on ngmer wa baar / o'a kye tambir soo / ko yel ka (920) /
 k'o kyir iong / on kyir iong na / o'a ton gyeli / o'a nye kyuuni / ti
 yel ka / ka ai / ka v̄ũũ tan duuri / ti ba ire / ka bibiir na s̄ō / le
 na-yaa / k'o ir u-aa / iong a wuo puo / poo nȳō biiri / ba wa ta /
 o'a de-a / ti ko-a / poo kyila / ko de-a / b̄ō a boom / o'a iong
 tulo (940) / sambar ata / o'a tuli / k'o de-a / iong duu puo / on iong
 wa baara / ti yi ti yela / a nikp̄ēē / k'o yel ka / k'o bin ser / ka o lo
 wa / wa b̄ gua / k'o de da / ka k̄oni kuorbo / o'a bini / ti o yel ka /
 ka nir zaa / k'o ta wa yel / kur-a / a bibiiri / ba i gbile (960) / a bie
 na / zie ba sobo / ko yi-a / a sen dãã zie / wa ta-a / k'o yel kua / k'o
 yoo-aa / ka yela-a / ka boor sooli-a / ka na boor pele / ka na daboo nibe /
 ka ba la wa w̄ ḡ / ka ba wa / ba yi / yuori / yele / ka bo wuor /
 kee / iong na bio / baa yoo yel ba (980) / dayere bio / ba wa ta / ka
 ba de kee / ba iong pio / ba ti tani / a garo zu puo / bina / ti yel ka /
 ka ba de nu / ka t̄o ka ba nyaa / baa le soori / ka ba yel ka / ka boonu

i kɛɛ / ka ba yel ka / ka kyɪ i kɛɛ / ba in kyɪ ngmini / ka a lieb kɛɛ /
ka ba yel / ka boor bɔ̃ɔ̃ gyele / ka ba piira (1000) / ka ko pɔɔ kyila /
ka o nar o naru / o'a nɔɔr baari / o'a de ngmani / ir
na yeli / a naangmin seb na / o'a de bebe / kpɛni kaling wiɔ puɔ /
ti kyɛ vla / a pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ̃ biɛ / o'a de-a / siuni-a / ti iɔng salɛũ puɔ / ti
i kuɔ iɔng / bibie ata / k'o ngmaa muo-a / wa duni-a / a gar zu
puɔ / o'a siuu / a dundɔr puɔ (1020) / o'a kyuori / on kyuor wa
baara / o'a doni / a gar zu / ti kyir bina / ti nyɔɔ yeri-a / on yer baar /
ti de muo-a / lɛ pɔɔ-yaa / on pɔɔ wa baara / o'a de sen / ti pɔɔ-ya /
o'a kyɔr kuɔ / bibie ata-ya / o'a nyɔɔ yuo / on yuo wa baara / o'a
lieb goba / k'o tɔ nyɛ / o tɔ nyɛ-a / a ba buli (1040) / o'a iɔng na
nɔ̃ / o nɔ̃ wa baara / pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ̃ biɛ / na iɔng tieru-a / o'a lieb de /
iɔng piɔ puɔ / on iɔng wa baar / ti wob o bomo / o'a lɛ pɔɔ / on
pɔɔ baara / a piɛ puɔ-a / bibie ata / ko nyɔɔ yuo / on yuo wa baara /
o'a de / o'a dieli / on dieli baara / naangmin seba / ba ngme / ka
ko-yaa (1060) / k'o de-a / wa siu-nia / wiili ma-a / [kan yel-aa] /
k'o de-a / leb ti bin / ma wa-ya / wa bɔ̃ gu / n ku kɔni kɔrɔɔ /
ala na-a / k'o bina / ka vũũ-ya / o'a ta duuri / ka n buɔl yi / wa yel
ka / ka yi nyãã-a / yi ba nyɛ-a / soor ma / yi ba nyɛ a yele / n yel
ko ya (1080) / faa nyɛ bobo / ka ba lieb nu / tɔ piɔ puɔ / ti iɔng ba
kɛɛ / bɔ̃ɔ̃ a iɔm / ba tɔ duro / ti tɔ guba / ti lɛ yela / a nikpɛ̃ / ka
a ba shɔɔ bome / ti on ia / a yela / na fɛrɛ ti-a / yin den lɛ / soori
zu / na dɔɔla nyũũ / ban iɔng baara / pɔɔbil bhɔlɔa / ba de-a / zɔ
siuni-a (1100) / a yɔ̃-a / ba zɔ yɔni / a nibɛ yie / ba iɛraa / ba iɛraa
wa baari / duuri wa tani / a sãã yir puɔ / ba in ngmini / a naangmin
yele / na wa wuro / ba de yoi / zɔ tu ta / ti tani-a / a kulkpɛ̃ nuɔr /
ba nyɛ kuɔ / kuɔ vlana-a / ba ɔng wa tani / ba sãã yir puɔ / ba na
bɔ̃ɔ̃ ba bomo / ba de kɛɛ zɔ̃ (1120) / iɔng kuɔ puɔ / ba i amine / ba
i kyĩ / ban kyĩ wa baara / ba bul lɔng ta / ba iɔng duu puɔ / ti
i kuɔ iɔng / ban iɔng wa baara / ba in ngmin / ba iɔng vũũ / ka i
na bii / a ba bii / ba nyɔɔ-a / yaa wa baara / ba iɔng kuɔ / ba iɔng
taa / ti ir kyuori / ban kyuori wa baara / ba ir dãã zie / ban ir wa
baara (1140) / ba iɔng siung puo / ti lieb ti do-a / a sãã yir zu / ba
i na gãã / zie ba mhãã / ka kpakpol nɔra / o'a ir ngme / o'a duur
ngme / pɔɔbil bhɔla / ko vaa na vulɔ / o'a iri / ti dur ti siu / siung
kpɛ̃ puo / o'a nyɛ dãã / k'o len nyãã / ka dãã miina / a dãã ba mii /
an mii-a / o'a ir daari / duur wa lobo (1160) / o'a de ngmani / i na
wuoli / on wuoli wa baara / o'a kyir iɔng / o'a iɔng duu puo / on
iɔng wa baara / o'a iɔng vũũ / ka ba kara / on ka wa baara / k'o
nyɔɔ wuoli / an wuoli wa baara / o'a kuor dãã sɔɔr / o'a iɔng duu /

o'a iɔng vūũ / ka wa kara / k'o nyɔɔ yaa / on yaa wa baara / ir do
 a / a sãã yir zu / o'a ire na gã (1180) / o'a gã be / dãã ba mhãã / pɔɔ
 nyɔ̃ɔ bie / na bõ o bomo / o'a wan dãbil / o'a iɔng be / faa nye / ka i
 puuru / pɔɔbil bhola / o'a de yue / o'a der iɔng baari / nikpẽẽ-a / duur
 wa ta / o'a nyɔɔ ngmama / mani a bobil / on man wa baara / faa
 nye bobo / ka ba wa ta / pɔɔbil bhola / ba de dãã (1200) / do ti yini /
 faa nye kɛɛ / ka lieb dãã / faa nye kyi / ka lieb saab / faa nye bire / ka
 lieb zier / ba wa ta / nandi woro / ba i na di / faa nye nikpẽẽ / o'a
 ir kyuuri / ka kɛɛ iɔng / ba bar kpibo / ko yel ka / yin bɔɔr diba /
 ti-a bɔɔ bere / na zin kɔɔ yi-a / yin in ngmin / ti di ti kpõ (1220) / ka
 bɔɔ kyiin bere / na bõ ba bomo-aa / ba wa ta / ba ba ngma ba dãã /
 dãã bere zuri / ba biõ ni bobo / ka ba nyũũ dãã / ka ba yel ka ya / ka
 ba nyuuna / bo kyiin bil / ba lieb ti ta / ba dãã iɔng / ba nyu ti
 baar / ti iɔng na gã / ko nikpẽẽ na / na iɔng tieru / o'a kyɔɔr ba / ti
 yel ka ya / ka ba kyeli ka / baa kyeli seri (1240) / k'o lɛ yel ka ya /
 ka bom kye naa / ka ba vɛ̃-ya / k'o yel ko ti / ka bom na kye / ti yel
 ka ya / ka bɔɔr bomo / na wa woro / ka ti nyɔɔ ya / tuur a gbɛɛ /
 bõõ gure / ira ia / ka i nũõ ib zie / a ba i lɛ / ba'a bar kpibo / ban
 bar wa baara / ko ɔng kuõ mhaaro / ni tempelo-ya / lieb ti tani-a / a
 teung ser zu (1260) / zin baalo-a / ti lɛ yel ka ya / ka ba tu nuɔr / ka ba
 yel ka / ka ba tu bonu nuɔr / k'o yel ka / a bɔɔr yel / na wa wuro /
 ka ti bõõ gu / yi tu ku a kpime-a / long nia ngmina / long ni siuwe /
 long ni wen-a / long ni tengaani / ka ti nyãã bomo / n na kye / ka
 ba yel ka / ka ngmini / ka kpime / ka siuwe (1280) / ka weni / ka
 bɔɔr / ka duno non / ka kure pĩĩme / ti ira bebe / wa ta diã / ti a bɔɔ
 pele / ngmiera nokpen / ni yia / ala na / ka n yel ka / ka ba bar
 gãmo / ka ti nyo bɔɔr / on i yel kpẽẽ / o'a yel ko biir / ka ba ter
 tieru / a iɔng / on yel wa baara / ti tɔ-ya / yel ka ya (1300) / ka tin
 ba guole / ti a bɔɔ yele-a ya / ia nuur yele-a / ti na in ngmin / ka
 tierusob-a / lɛ yel ka ya / ka nuur ba na wana / wa ko yi-a / ti na
 iri-a / amine / ko a bobil / kõõ zu-a / wa i vla-a / tin yerena ya /
 ti koba / fu bai nye / ka nikpẽẽ / o ba nyo nuuri / ti lɛ yel ka ya / ka
 ngmini (1320) / ka kpime / ka siuwe / ka bɔɔr / a duno non / kure
 pĩĩme / ɔɔr puur / long ni zuri / ka tɔ kpẽẽ / wa gana fããn / ti tina
 nyɔɔ-a / wa tɔ ka / ti a nuur yele-a / na i kpɛung-a / fun nyen a nuur
 anya / kaara / maali iɔng yaa / ka ala wa i bom / fu mi na in bom /
 ala wa loba / wa ti wio (1340) / ka gyele-a / ba kpole / ka liliir / ba
 kpimai / a zaa kpo / na ara-a / zen ta ya / na n'ɔ buura / ti na de
 na / a bieri nya / a bom na na kye / ti a yele / ti na yel ku yi-a / ka
 yi na bara / a nuo / in ngmin bara / ka ba yel ka / ka ba na bara /

a yir puo / ti n'ɔ tuo-na (1360) / o yuɔr nu'a / tiiti nuo / boonu
 tiiti / a tiiti-a / tin a yeli-a / ka yi ba bõõ a par / a bɔɔr na i a /
 a bun tiira / ole no-a / a nir nuo / wari-a / wan lob iong / o gyele
 puo / a songna / a zaa ya / ina / a tiiti nuo / gyele / tin na de na /
 tuuri-aa (1380) / a ti bɔɔr yele / tin yel wa baara / bɔɔ pele / baa
 zo ti kuli / ti ti yel ka / ba ti kyele / a ngmãã-a / na kye-a / ka ti le
 yel kuba / ka ba kuli / ti yi yɔ kyen / a bɔɔ sɔɔli zie / yendem nibe /
 ka ba bu / a bɔɔri / ka ba bõõ / a bɔɔr / yele / na i le a / na kyier
 lee (1400) / ka ba ti nye-a / ka kpime-a / ani-a wen-a / ba zaa nibe
 wa wa / wari-a / ba yeli / a yeli / ko a bɔɔ bere / a ngmin seba / o'a
 i a zie / ka zie vieli-a / ka sa bir / le lona / iong / a bomo / na kye-a /
 kyi-bana / ni biẽũ / ni singbile-a / na i-a (1420) / a bɔɔr bomo / yi
 ba nyãã / a saa ba maali / kaa vieli-a / daar kõ / ka mutong-a / wa
 ti ngme / iong a kyi / ka kuõ yi-a / a simie / a mi ba bii / a singbile /
 mi ba bii / ka biẽũ / mi wõ ya / ba nyɔ-a / guri / bin bari / a ngmin
 seb / a ba te iong (1440) / ka dayere bio / baa vaari / a kaduora /
 nikpẽẽ-a / o ba la / ti yel ka ð / ka yuona ya / a kuura / k'o wana / a
 yiri / ti le nyɔ-a / a bibiiria / yel ko ba-a / ka ba wa ka / ba wa ta /
 a nikpẽẽ pule / ba ba mang ka / ka dib na / k'o yel ko ba / ka a
 koba (1460) / ti na kɔ-a / ti nyãã na ya / ka viela / ka ti bõõ ka ya /
 ka wena / o wan na ye miong / ti yini-a / wa yi dayere bio / yi zo
 yɔ-a a / a bɔɔr sɔɔli zie / nii bɔɔ pele / dabɔɔ nibe / ba la wa wõ
 gõn / ba na wana / ba na yela / ba yi / zo yɔɔ / yel ba zaa / a bɔɔ
 sɔɔli / ba yel wa baari (1480) / dayere bio / ba wa ta / a gar puo /
 k'o iong-ya / pɔɔ sɔ-a / o'a de piɔ / siu ni-a / a dio puo / o'a nar
 o naru / ti vaa o kee / do ni-a / a garo zu puo / ti bini-a / ka nikpẽẽ-a /
 o'a buol a bɔɔɔ / ka ba tɔ ta / nandi woro / ba ba man ka (1500) /
 ka dib na / ba iong na la / ti tɔ tai-ya / k'o yel ka ya / ka bibiir / a
 yel-la / na fer ba / a kori zaa / kaa ira bebe / duno non / kure pĩme /
 ɔɔr puur / ɔɔr zuri / ala na-yaa / ka ti kɔ yaa / a kuur bomo / ka
 naangmina / tu ti puori / ti nyaana / ta ba ze bom-e / ka ti na tun
 i na / a yele-a (1520) / na fera tina / ka ti bõ gu-a / ala na yaa / ka
 ti nyɔ a kaaduora / ngmaa ya / bini yaa / ka pɔɔɔɔ / na bɔng ba
 bomo / ka ba de daa bhɔla / ba fɔbi / ka yi-a / ka ba ngmaa / pe
 zo ya / ba doni / a garo zu / ba yeli / ngmin seb na / ko de a bebe /
 kpen a wiɔ / kye vieli (1540) / ti a de-a / iong kuõ / ka bur ya / ka
 ba de-a / kyuori-ya / le doni-ya / a garo zu / ti bini / ti yel ka / ka
 ba ngmaa muo / ba ba ngmaa / wa tani / a garo zu / ba tani / ba
 pɔɔ / dayere bio / ka ba nyɔɔ / le lɔɔ / ba iong tieru / le iong na
 nɔ (1560) / ba nɔ wa baari / ba yel ka / ka ba na woba / ba bõõ ba

bomo / ka ba le de / pe zɔɔ ya / iɔng ya / ba uri / ban uri wa baara /
 ka muna / ba tɔ a / ba kyiri / bin teung / ti nyɔɔ yer / a muna / o ba
 ngme / ka ba do-a / woba-a / le ti tana / a nikpɛɛ-a (1580) / k'o yel
 ka ɔ̃ / k'o nyãã na / ka ba bina / ka yele-a / na ta duura / ba bini /
 ba na bina / ti le yaari / ba yaari baari / a zie / o ba kyeli / kyeli ni
 bo / a uon bana / ba yi / ka ba yel ka / ka zie / na uɔra / boonu kye /
 ka ti na i / a bɔɔ bio (1600) / ka ba yel ka / ka nikpɛɛ / k'o yeli / a
 bibiiri / ka ba yi-a / ka yela / a bɔɔ sɔɔli-aa / ka ba wa ka ya / ka na
 bɔɔ peɛ / dabɔɔ nibɛ / ba la wɔ̃ gɔ̃mɔ-aa / ba na wana / ba yi / zɔ
 yɔɔ / yeli / a bɔɔ sɔɔli / bɔɔ peɛ / baa man ka / ka dibna / ti mi siu
 pɔɔ (1620) / ti ta-ya / ka nikpɛɛ / o'a buɔli / a pɔɔ / k'o de-a / a kɛɛ /
 doni-a / a garo zu / ti bini / ti yel ka / ka zie-a / na ngme anya / ala
 na ya / ka ti yel ka / a kɛɛ / yi de-aa / mani-a / a mano / ka ba de-a /
 wa doni (1640) / ba de ngmani / ba iɔng / ba iɔng be / ti tɔ̃ ba
 nuri / ba mani / ban a baara / ba iɔng / ka kyiri / ba iɔng / ka
 kyiri / ba le iɔng / ka le kyiri / sambar ata / ba yel ka / ka ba zɛ̃
 bire / ti a naangmin-aa / na fɛɛ ti-aa / ti na de na-aa / sɔr i zu-aa /
 na dɔɔlo nyuu-aa (1660) / ban i baara / ba le de / le ko-a / a pɔɔbɔ /
 ba de-aa / ban de-aa / le siu ni-yaa / ba dir puɔ / nar ba naru / ba
 gbɛ̃ / ban na gbɛ̃-a / baari-a / ba duu / a dɔ̃ã / ba na duu-aa / a dɔ̃ã /
 baa baari / ka dayere bio / baa wa / wa ta (1680) / baa nye kɛɛ / ka
 i dɔ̃ã / baa nye kyi / ka i saab / baa nye biɔng / ka i zieri / baa nye /
 ka nibere / baa zĩ / ka ba wa ta / [ba yel ka] / ka yi zɔ yɔ / yele-a / ka
 ba wa fɔ̃ɔ / ka bibiir / ni a nɔ tuo / ka ba wa fɔ̃ɔ / ka ba wa ya / wa
 ta ya / ba de dɔ̃ã (1700) / bɔɔr na nyu / ka ba yel ka / ka ba aɛ / ban
 ara / nibere / ba de nuuri / a bɔbɔl kpɛɛ / nuur ya / nuur ani / yel
 ka ya / ka ngmini / ka siuwe / ka kpime / ka weni / ka bɔɔr / ka
 duno non / kure piĩme / ka tɔ kpɛɛ / gana fãã / on yel le-a (1720) /
 tikye-a / a nuura / ka fu na de-a / ko a tengaana / ti de-a / kpe ko
 siuwe / long ni kpime / ka ba di-a / fũ wa nye / ka bɔɔr / ba tɛra
 yele / a n'ɔ̃ dɛũ / on na lon puɔr / baa de / a no dɛũ / baa ngmaa /
 o'a lo / on lo-ia / ba de nũɔ / ba ko a tengaana (1740) / o ba lo
 kpai / ba la muɔr / ti ba kpe / baa ir nuɔ / ko a kpime / ba ir nuɔ /
 ko a siuwe / ba do ko a weni / long ni ngmini / a ba lo kpai / a na
 lo kpai-a / bɔɔ kyiin biir / ka ba yel ka / a nuura / kaa shɔɔna / ana
 shɔɔ-aa / a ba kye dibo / bɔɔ kyiine / ba ba dire / ka nibere (1760) /
 iɔng na kyɔɔri-a / baa bari / ban bari-a / ka ba yel ka / ka dɔ̃ã kpɛɛ
 zu ya / ka nipkɛɛ / ba nyue / ti yi buɔr / na nyu / ban yele-a / baa
 zɔ dɔ̃bie / baa de ba dɔ̃ã / ba ngmaa a zu / dɔ̃ã kpɛɛ zu / wa tani-a /
 ka ti bɔɔ bere-aa / ka ti nyu bɔ̃ gu / ti bar ko ba / ka ba nyu-ya / baa

tu na bɔbɔ (1780) / ban tu baara / ka bɔɔ kyiin bil / baa kpe dibɔ /
 ba di bɔ̃ gu / ti zɛ kur-kuri / ban zɛ kur-kuri / ti irɛ na gɔ̃ / tɔ banu / lɛ
 yel ka / ka ba bar sɛr / baa bari / ka ba man ka ya / ka yel-nya / ka
 lɛ ngmɛna / a tin dɔ̃ɔ ira / ka nibɛrɛ / lɛ yel ko ti-a / ka diɛ bibira /
 na bɔɔ bio / ka tomo-a (1800) / ben be / ka ba yel ka ai / ka bono
 tomo / ka ba yel ka / ka bɔɔbil / ka ti bɔ-a / a kã / ka ni-aa / a
 mie / ka ni-aa / a kɔi / ka ti ni bɔɔr / ka ti bɔ-a / ti na yin / a ti bɔ /
 ti a nyɛ biur / pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ-a / bin o biur / biur tin zuni-a / ti yel-a
 (1820) / o a sɔri / ka libie / on sɔr baara / a ngmina? / ka lizɛri-a /
 wɔɔ kong puɔ / n ba ira / lizer mwɔ̃ / tin ira / tin ir baara / ti wa
 taiya / tin su-ya / a kul kpɛɛ nuɔra / faa nyɛ ngmama / ka wɔ̃ ya / ka
 ti pɔraa / wa tani-aa / a yiri-aa / a bɔɔ yiri-aa / ti a bini (1840) / ti
 ngmaa a nɛɛ / tin ngmaa baara / ti ba ira bebe / tin ir baara / ta
 kye viel / de lɔng ta / nibɛrɛ [baa yel ka] / ka diɛ-a / bibir-nya / olɛ
 nu / ka ba buɔl / bɔɔ tĩsɔɔ / yi na ton / a tomo / ti yiini bio / o na
 yel lɛ-a / o'a ko ba / o tomo / bon tomo na / ka o ko ti (1860) / a bɔɔ
 kã-ya / ni taasir-a / ni kuɔr-a / ala tomo na / k'o ko ti / ka balɛ / nar
 ba naru / ti wa yel ka / ka vũũ tan duuri / ka ba sooraa / a bɔbil-a /
 a diɛ bibir / bibir faano / ti lɛ i bibir vla / ti na nyɔɔri ya / a bɔɔr
 ya / ti yel ko yi-a / yi ta / wa irɛ diɔrɛ / a bibir-a (1880) / olɛ na diɛ /
 ka fũ wa / gani pɔɔ / ti wa sɔɔli bara / ka ba la tũɔ fu nyuɔr / ka ba
 la wa / tũɔ fu nuɔr / fu kon i nirɛ / a ti bɔɔr puɔ / ba soori / sambar
 ata / fu zɔɔri / bɔɔ ma / o ba soori / sambar ata / fu zɔɔri / bɔɔ
 kyiin bil / ka ba nar ba naru / ba de mie / ba de kɔi (1900) / lɔng
 ta ya / de ba wuur / ba ba gyiri / ban gyiri wa baara / ti nar ba
 naru / baa de ba kãã / tɔ ka ta / ka ba de-a / zie ur / ban de-a / wa
 iɔng / a kã puo / ban iɔng baara / ti lɛ yel ka ya / ka ba de a mie /
 yina de a mie / ka ba yel ka / ka bɔɔble / fu kyirina / a fu puɔ (1920) /
 k'o yel k'o kyirina / a o puɔ / k'o yel ka / n tuɔ̃ / o'a soori / sambar
 ata / ko yel ka / ka fu tuɔ̃ / ka n de-a / ko-ya / ma tɔsob-a / ko
 soori / sambar ata / ka ba yel ka / ka ba tuɔ̃ / baa tuɔ̃ / tin tuɔ̃-a / wa
 baari-aa / ti-a i ti kãã / yel ka ya (1940) / ti ngmaara nuɔr / dābie
 ba kpe-o / ko yel ka ai / ka ngmaa nuɔr ngmin / k'o yel ka /
 k'o na ngmaana / a fu nɔ ieru / tikyɛ-a / bara / a fu nɔ dira /
 ba yel lɛ / ti de a kã ya / pãã ngmaa / pãã ngma fu / ngma bangyiri /
 ban ngmaa bangyira / ti yel fu ya / ka fũ wa yi-a / a bio-a / wa ti
 zĩ-a (1960) / wa nyɛ-a / fu yebe-a / ko iɛr sɔɔ fu-a / fu ta wa sɔɔrɛ /
 o lo wa la sɔɔ fu / fu ta wa laare / o na yel lɛ-aa / o'a wa baari / ti
 yel ka ya / a diɛ bibir-a / ba zɛ fu kã-ã / fũ wa tɛr pɔɔ / ta wa piele
 u-ɛ / ka fũ wa i pɔɔ / ti wa tɛr daba / ta wa piele u-ɛ / ka fũ-a / kun

tuõ i-a / yel / ka ba bar fu (1980) / yi zaa ba kyiiri / ka yi na tuõ na /
 yin yele-a / wa baara / ka ba ze yi-a / wa baara / zie wa mani-a /
 nikpẽẽ-a / ko ir ar-a / ti buoli-a / ka ngmini / ka ngmino / o ba
 buoli / sambar ata / ti le lieba / le yel ka ya / ka ngmina / ko wa
 siuna / ka yera o yele / ka zaa zẽzẽ (2000) / ka wa siuni / ka ti yel ka /
 ka dib na ko wa / k'o ba wa liebe / k'o tuura duro / k'o ba tuuri
 gobai / k'o wan nio / o ba wan puore / o na yela / ka yi wõ-a / k'o
 wanna dib / ya nye / a dibo / a ba wa / ka bõ kyiin bil / ka ba de
 gbelme / baa pɔɔ a kuori / ti lõn ya / ti yel ka ya / ka a kuor nya
 (2020) / k'o ulɔ wa ngmera / ka fu zu na ngmera / ti nibe zaa / bõ
 ka / yel nya / ka ulɔ ngmer baari / ka fu zu ngmeri-aa / o mi na
 ngmer o miõ zu / ka ti nyɔ-a / tɛri-aa / zaa zom / ka bõ kyiine /
 ba yel ka / ka zie wa kyila / ka fu wa kyier-a / wa zele-a / a kyii-a / kuõ
 nyuur wa kpɛ fu-a / ka fu wa buor kuõ-a / fu ta wa nyure (2040) /
 ka bõ kyiina / wa nyere / ka olɔ wa i-a / kul kpẽẽ / fu na siuna-
 ya / bin a kuora / ti maal fu nuuri / ɔng ni a kuõ-a / nyuu ya / ka fu
 wa bõõ ka / a bõ kyiini-a / tara fu-naa / fu na ira / le yi-a / a kyier-a /
 ti kyɛ-a / ka fũ wa / wa buor-aa / bangyira / fu na vɛna (2060) / k'o
 toli-a / ti fu dɔm / ka fũ wa ira / fu na ngmaana / ti bhara / a muo
 puo / le ti de-a / a o niõ / k'o wa iri-a / ti nye fu / ka fu kyãã be /
 a o niõ / fũ vɛ / ka nirza / wa ti nye-a / a fu kuõ nyuba / o na yel
 ka ai! / ka ba nye bõ / na nyuur kuõ / aba viele (2080) / le na yaa /
 ka ti ma sɔoli / nyu kuõ / sɔolia / di bom / o'a yeli /
 wiil ba-a gbɛ / o'a baari-a / ti nyɔ-a / a bõr yele-a / wiil o-a / wa
 baar / ka zie-a / wa mani-a / k'o ira / a de / pel zɔɔ / bina / a fu
 nio / ti yel ka (2100) / ka fu zel pele nu / bio o ba bini / ko fu-a /
 ka fũ nira / na nɔn fũ yele-a / wa wani / a lizer-a / wa iɔng a fu / pele
 puo / ka wa i yɔɔ / ka ala na / na tuni / a bõr yele / o ba bini /
 ba iɔng na yɔɔ / ba iɔng baari / k'o de a / ko a bõ kpẽẽ /
 k'o de / bin lɔng taa (2120) / ti yel ka ya / ka kyi-a / wa baara / ka
 alɛ na / ka bona / na tuuri / a bõr yele / ti de / a pele / o ba iɔng
 fu numi / ka fũ yini-aa / ka fũ wa zele / ka ba la wa kub / bom
 zaa / fũ de / ka tɛnɛ na / ba ɔng ko fu / na de / ala na / a ti
 bõr bom (2140) / ya nye-a / fu na yi-a / zele-a / fun nye / a kyi /
 wani / n de lɔng ta / bina / ka fu yɔ / zele iɔng ni / an ba zɛmbiira / ti
 naangmin / na fɛra wora / ka ba yel ka / ka ba de le / ka sɔri zu /
 na dɔɔla nyũũ / ba bini / ka wa ta / a sãã-aa (2160) / ka ba de-aa / yel
 ka ð / ka pɔɔ nyõõ biir-a / ka ba de ya / ka va ya / ka iɔng-aa / a
 siũ puo / ka ba ware / kan bõ gu / ti de a / a anya / iɔng puo / na
 tu / a bõr yele / o na yel le-aa / wa baari-a / ka ba yel ka / ka ð /

k'a ba wõ-ana / ti o de-a (2180) / ba bini / ba bin / wa baara / ti ba
 yuor / daar kãã-aa / nibere / tierudem-aa / ka ba kun tuõ / bar / ka
 fu ter / a fu kuor / yuori le / ka ba na dena / ka bini / baa de / bini /
 kaa taba / yel ka ã / ka ba kun tuõ / de a kuor (2200) / bine / ba na
 yel le-aa / a wa baara / k'o yel ka / ka ti na in ngmin / k'o yel ka /
 a kuora / na i a gyela / a ti zie / ti kun tuõ / bin bare / tina ter-aa /
 yuori-a / a bom nya / fu na yel ka / tin na ira / tin lã / yuori-a / ka
 ale-a / saa i tomo (2220) / ti na lã na / tononi / o'a yel le / on yel
 wa baara / ti yel ko ti-a / ka kyì-a / ti na nye-a / a yuora / ka shoön /
 a yel tuub / ti kye-a / a nuur-aa / ala yele na / ia kpëung / k'o yel
 ka / ti na in ngmin / ko yel ka / le yi na / dõõ / zele-a (2240) / a
 kyii-a / ale na / ka yina le / zeli / a nuur / o na yela / wa baara / ti
 yel k'o ba / ka yi ni wa yi biõ / wa ira / fu ter-aa / fu yeble / bida-
 bleno / k'o tu fu puor-aa / a yuor-aa / zele-a / fũ wa nye / a blã-a /
 bonu blã / k'o yel ka (2260) / a n'õ bil blã / ka ba yel ka / a pam-
 paniyãã / fu in / ziera / fu wa de nio / wa ti ta yira / ka nir ba piel
 be / fu na de na / a nuõ / fũũ wa nyãã / a nir wa piel be / a la
 ile-aa / fu na bara / ti zeli / olõ wa nõ-aa / wa ko fu-aa / fu de / ti
 olõ ba / ko fu-aa (2280) / fu bar-o / n ba yeli / bio ba vie / faa iri /
 ka n ko fu / a kaso / ni bie / o'a tuur fu / zor yuori / fu mãã ta / a
 yiri / f'a nye nuuri / f'a nyõõ / k'o ba tani / ka fu bari-a / ti le wa
 kuli / f'a yeli / ka ba yel ka / ka le banai / ka fũ-a (2300) / wa kyeni /
 wa nyõõ-aa / ka ba la wa faa / ta wa ire suure / fũ vë-aa / ti zeli / olõ
 wa / wa i / a bõõ / o kũ de / ti bar fue / ti olõ / wa i dakume / wa
 de-a / fu bar / ti kyier-a / ti a nuõ / o na de-a / o kun / baa-i (2320) /
 ti yeke-a / a ti nibere / ka ba yel ka / ka ti tõi ta / ka ti tõi ta / ka
 ba yel ka ã / ka bom nya / ti na nyõõ-a / a wa tani / a bõõ bior / ti
 bõõra / ka ti na ta ka / a ti shoön / ka ti bõ / a naangmin / zie / ka
 tõi ya / ir ara / ti yel ka / k'o tier ka (2340) / ka naangmina / k'o
 bena / a teung zu / ti na kyiera / ka kãã / yel ka / ka ã, ã, / k'o le
 yel ka / o tieru / ka naangmin / k'o ben / a salon zu / tin gyira / k'o
 yel ka / ka ã, ã, / k'o le yel ka / k'o tieru / ka naangmin / k'o bena /
 a o nio (2360) / o na tura / k'o yel ka / ka naangmin / ka ba be be / k'o
 le yel ka / n tier ka / a naangmin / o bena / n puori / n na lieb
 tori-aa / k'o yel ka / naangmin / k'o ba ka be / k'o yel ka / naangmin /
 n tier ka / o bena / n duro loor / k'o yel ka / k'o ba ka be (2380) / k'o
 yel ka / naangmin / n tier ka / o bena / n guba loor / k'o yel ka /
 k'o ba ka be / k'o le soor ka ya / ti nyine-na / ka naangmin / be-a /
 fere ti / long na biiri / long na põõõ / ka tõi yaa / yel ka ã / ka
 naangmin / ti na wõ o yuor a / ti ba bõng o-a / ti fu yi diã (2400) /

soor ma / a naangmin / na yi zie-na / k'o le yel ka ã / a shoön ka
 n soor / zaa na yaa / ka n wõ-aa / ka fu buol / i gõmõ / ti yel ka
 ya / ka naangmini / ka n wõ ya / fu na buola / ti fu yel ka / ka
 naangmin / k'o wonaa / ko wa siu / ala na / ka n pãã bõor / ka na
 bong-a (2420) / a zie-na / o na yi-a / ti kye-aa / ka ala wa i le-aa /
 ti pãã ba / tuur / a ala / na kye / ka to / le soora / ka boonu / ka fu
 bong / na kye-aa / ko yel ka / tin bõor biõra / n tier ka / bom na
 kye / ka tina i-a / olõ na / a kœ ngmier (2440) / ko yel ka / ka to /
 fu na bong le-a / ti kye / soor ma a naangmin zie / ko yel ka ã / a
 naangmin-a / yi naa ti-a / wiil mana / a zie / o na ba-aa / ka ba
 ara / ti bõ ya / a naangmin / a zie-a / o na be-a / ka kontõmo / o'a
 bõor ba gyinu / o ba wa / wa siu (2460) / ti yel ka / ka olõ nu / a
 naangmina / a bõor yir puo / o na yeli-a / ti nyõ ba-aa / ti wiil
 ba-a / le ba na ire / a bõor-yaa / ti ba bõ / alẽ ba na tu / k'o na wiil
 bana / sor kõõ / k'a ba yel ka ã / k'o wiil ba / kontõmo / o ba iri /
 ir ari / ti yel ka ya / ka bõ shoör tomo (2480) / a bõ tiisõ daar / ka
 ngmin bana i? / ka ba yel ka yaa / ka ba bõor-aa / ka a daar / wa
 taiya / ka bana / bõn nira / k'o wa wiil ba / a bibir / le ba na i-a /
 o ba yel ka / ka kontõmo / k'o wana tii / bõ tii / an ni kuor / wa
 bina / ti yel ka / ka tii-a nya / ka bala (2500) / wa yi a le daar / ka
 ba ia tii nya / iõng kuõ puo / bibie ata / le ir-a / le iõng vüü puo /
 bibie ata / ti bom zaa / na tulõ-aa / o na tuõn i ka mhãã / ka bom
 zaa / na le mhãã / on le / tuõn i k'o tulõ / on yel le-a / ka ba de-a /
 ka ban in ngmin / k'o yel ka / k'o na wiil bana alẽ / ka ba na tu
 alẽ (2520) / ti i ti nye / a bom / na be a puo / ka be de-a / iõng
 vüü-a / wa ir o-aa / le iõng kuõ mi-aa / bibie ata / ba bini / kontõmo
 gyina / o ba wa / wa yel ka / ka ba de-a / ka kuõra / ka ira tii bla /
 ka ti bini / ti nẽ-aa / k'o ngmeri-aa / ka ti iro-a / iõng kuõ mi-aa (2540) /
 ti kye-a / de-a / a i tuuli / ni bo-yen-a / ka yi nyẽ-a / a bom / na be
 be / ban de-aa / ban nẽba / k'o ngmeri / ka ba de-a / iõng kuõ mi /
 ti tu la / a nir kõ / sambar ata / o'a kpi / on kpi-a / kontõmo-a / o'a
 le kpe / o kõlingwie puo (2560) / o na kpe-a / ka nibere-a / yel ka
 ã / ka yin nya / on wa tua / ko ti-a / ka ti de-a / ko wa i anya / tin
 in ngmini / ka iib i-a / to banu / o ba iri / bieri / a zie-na / kontõmo
 na be-a / o'a iri / mi zo kpe / a kõlingwie puo / ti bõra / a kontõmo
 zie (2580) / o na be-a / o'a wa nyüü / o dio puo / k'o zĩ be / k'o yel ka
 ai / ka a tomo nya / fun tõ ko ti-a / ti wiil ti a ibo / ti tuna / ka i kũü /
 a ko ti / k'o yel ka ã / ka in le / ka tikye-a / o dõõn yel ka bonu / ko
 yi / k'o yel ka / k'o ba yel yele / k'a kontõmo / le yel ka (2600) / n ba
 dõõ ku-yi / a tii / ti yini-aa / yi na ta tuna / alẽ na n yel ko yia /

ti n yel ko ya / ala i yel tulo / a na mhãã na / ka i yel bhaaro / a na
 tulo na / on yel le / wa baara / ti tu daba / kula / o sãã yir puo /
 a ba nye kũ / k'o gã / k'o yel ka / ka nibe / k'o bõra (2620) / k'o
 wiil ba / a ba bõr / ba na ma nyoo-a / ti nye-a / a niri-nya / na
 gan ka / o tan daa? / ka ba yel ka / k'o ba ta daai / k'o yel ka / ka
 bibie / ata na / a die / o na kpi-a / ti in ngmin ba puõ / k'o yel ka /
 ka ba mi ba bõõ-ε / k'o yel ka / ka ba ale / k'o soor ba-a (2640) / yel
 kõõ / ti le yel ka / ka ba nira / na ma kp̄ii-a / ka bibie angmina /
 k'o ma puõ / ka ba yel ku-a / ka bibie ata / k'o ma songna / ka
 kontomo / yel ka ya / k'o bõra k'o wiil-ba / ti yini / na tu n puori /
 yi ba tu n puor vla / ala na v̄e-a / kãn ba wiil yi / a ma yel nya / o
 ina / a bõr (2660) / yel kp̄ẽ-no / ti-a nya / olo nu-a / na v̄e-a / ka
 bõoble / zo dãbie / olo nu-a / na v̄e-a / ka bõo s̄oli / zo dãbie / olo
 nu-a / na v̄e-a / ka bõo kyĩĩe-a / zo dãbie / o na yel le-aa / ti kyena /
 ti kpa / o nuor-aa / a toor puo / ti kuura (2680) / ti yel ka / ka ba
 gyire / faa nye kũ / o'a le iri / on ira / k'o yel ka / ka ba la wa bõra /
 ka t̄iĩ anya / ka ba de-a / a lizer miõ / ani wal piel da / ala na ya / ba
 ma daa a t̄iĩ / o na yel le-a / ba wani / a wal piel da / ani lizer miõ /
 ba ya a kontomo / ban ya wa baara / ban in ngmin (2700) / baa
 kyeni / t̄iĩs̄o daari / a o yir-aa / k'o ti z̄i-aa / ti wiil ba-o / a kyile
 t̄iĩ / ka ã / ka bana soora / a naangmin yelee-aa / k'o wõ-ana / ko
 olo na / a naangmin / ka nira / wa bõõ o tub / ka ma nyen vla / ka
 nira / ba bõõ o tuba / o kun tuõ / nye vlai / on yel le-a (2720) / a wa
 baara / nikp̄ẽ / o'a man ka / bõo s̄oli puo / n dõõ / nyãã / yebe
 yelee-a / ala t̄ana / ba ma kuni / a bõbo / k'o yel ka o / ka ala banai /
 ka a t̄iĩ-na / o wuo puo t̄iĩ / ka ala na / ka s̄ãakuma / bar k'o / ka o
 tera / a t̄iĩ bhaar / olo na anya (2740) / a t̄iĩ tulu / olo na anya / ka
 zaa / ina / a boma / na na tuõ / ku kũũ / na le na tuõ / siung kũ / on
 yel le-a / ti yel ka ã / ka al wa i-a / a kũũ siung t̄iĩ / a ben o zie /
 ale wa i-a / kũũ kuro t̄iĩ / a ben o zie / o'a yel baari / ara be-a / o na
 bõra t̄iĩ-a (2760) / tikye-a / ka bõo t̄iĩs̄o / ban na duula / kontomo /
 fu ba tera deb nya / a ano deb nya / a to banu / ka fu teri / ti kyẽ
 ti / an i le-a / ka fu teri to / ti bõo t̄iĩs̄o / na ba leoro / ka ti na tuõ /
 lieb bare / iõng bi z̄olai / ti kye-a / a bõo t̄iĩs̄o / ba wa ta / ka
 kontomo-a (2780) / bar o bie-a / k'o wa-a / a bõo yira / ka wa nye-a /
 a bõbo / na ira le / on yel le-a / o'a wa ta / nye bõbo / v̄ũũ ba tan
 duri / ka kontomble-a / zin zoma / ti gyire-a / ka ba ba ir / yel ka
 ya / ka ba kuro bõbo / ka ba'a ngmiere / ka ba ku-a / a bõbil /
 bin-aa (2800) / ti ka nikp̄ẽ-a / ira / d̄om o sinshiura / ti ngmaa
 yielo / ka kũ kuna / yee kũ ku / ka soora kai / baa ngmaa olo

sambar ata / le iri-a / le bar-a / ti le ngmaa / ka vini gã gã dio / ka sooro ba kai / ba ngmaa sambar ata / le baari ya / ti le ngmaa ya / ka ba wani kuba / ka ba ya bobo / ba ngmaa sambar ata / ba bari (2820) / ti le ngmaa / ka ba bong ni luue / ka o sob yir puo lu gon gon / ba ngmaa sambar ata / ti yel ka ya / ka bwo wuo / ngme nuu / na kpa kpa kpa / ba bar ala / ti le yel ka / ka kũũ kuna yee / kũũ ku / ka bwowen faa bar / ka kũ ta kue / baa baar le sambar ata / ti le ngmaya / ka ba iri yi yõõ / ka ti nye bobo / ba ngmaa olo / sambar ata (2840) / ba bong gu / ba iri / ba ire nayi / ka ba ledom sinshiura / ti le ngma yielo / ka ba gũ gũ gbe / na gura gura / baa bari / baa le ngmaa / ka ti viri kpiru / soor nyin kora / ka viri [kpiru] / soor nyin kora / ka ti viri [kpiru] / ba bar olo / ti le ngmaa / ka ti ir bar / der kora / ka ti ir bar / ka soor der kora (2860) / ka ti ir bar / ba ngmaa wa bar / ti le lieba / le kyena / a dio puo / na ti kpe / a dio nya / bwo kyiin bil / ba nar ba naro / a tiisoo daari / baa uũ gbelme / a dio puo / yiini-a / a dakyin zie / ti uũ yaa / ban wa baari-a / ti kpe dio puo / ba ti ta / a dio puo / ba mi ba kpe (2880) / ni gbelme / ba ngmaa yielu / a iong yaa / a bobo toori-a / ka ba wõ / ka bana iri / ka ngman bõ gu / ka be yel ka / ka ban in ngmin / ka yel par-nya / kontomble / ba too ta / ba siir kaa / ti yel ka / ka ba bhaan / ka ba kun tuõ ire / baa yel ka õ / ka ban in ngmin / ka to ya / ni o kontomo (2900) / ba ba waari / wa ta yiri / a dio puo / ba a kpee / ba nye zii / [ti yel] ka ai / ka bono i / ka ba yel ka yaa / ka yel nya / ana wa ta / a tiisoo daari / ka ala na / ka ba yel ka ba tu / ka ti tu bõ gu / ti bur bur / ko yel ka õ / ka bõora / ka nyine ti ta / k'o yel ka / ka ba ba bonge-ye (2920) / faa nye to / k'o yel ka / ka bõor / yin ngme kee ngmier / ka ba yel ka õ õ / ti ba ngmei / ti in ngmin / ka bo seur / wa ta / a bwo tiisoo / ka yi kua nibe / k'o le yel ka / ka bõor kuba / ba ba ma kuni daai / ba ba ma kuni pii-ye / ba ma kuna / ni ye / ani tii / o na yel le-a / ka bobo (2940) / dãbie ba kpe ba / ban in ngmini / ka kontom ble-a / le nyo ba / ti wiil ba / ale-a / ban na ku a bobo-a / ka a zaa / ka a yina / naangmin zie / olo nu-a / wani-a / tõ faa / ani tõ vla / olo nu-a / wani-a / yel bebe / ani yel nuu / olo nu-a / wani-a (2960) / kon / ani laar / olo nu-a / wani-a / nõõ / ani teru / olo naangmina / olo wani-a / nyovuori / ani kũũ / ka ba le soor o-a / a in ngmin / ka fũũ naangmin / ira nibe / iong nyovuor / ti ka kõõ mo tuõ ngma / on a yele-a / ka bie na / mi yel ka õ / ka fũ bõora (2980) / ka bom zaa / a teung zu / naangmin-a / na ka funa / a ma / a naangmin / ti wona / k'o tera yir / ka isob yel ka / ka nyine naa yir be / o'a yel le / on yel wa baara / ka bwo bere / ba

mire / a kun / bana gā / a kō ya / lē mhe ka / ti yel ka ai / ka ba faa
 mhaa (3000) / o na yel lē-a / a kontōmble / o'a de o tīi / iōng o
 nuori / ti uōb k'o ngmeri / ti puura / a ba zuri / on puur wa baara /
 ti lieb o nēē / kpa a tobo puo / o'a kuuri / baa iri / k'o yel ka ã / ka
 bana ira / ba zaa ba ira / ka ba zaa ba iri / ban ir baara / ko yel
 ka ã / ka ti lē biera / a yel ngmaara (3020) / na kye / bonu yel
 ngmaara / k'o yel ka / yin wa ta / a bō biera / ba tuō ngme kēē /
 ti ba lo-a / a bō tīisōo / yi ba sōng yele / a sōng zōola / ta nye
 bome / lē na / ko lē ira / tēr tia / turi-a / a bōo yele / ana lē wa /
 a kēē ngmiera / a ba wa ta / ka bōbō (3040) / ba yuori ni ba kōi / ōng
 ni kuō / man kuō na / ba na ōng lē-a / wari-a / gbangbala puo / ka
 ba wa zī be-a / zī lōng ta / bōo kyīin bil-aa / baa tō ba / ka ba
 kuli-a / ti vuō a kyi / wa tani / a gbangbala puo / bōokar bil / ka ba
 zī-a / i badenuor / ka ba yel kaya / ka bon nuori / k'o yel ka ã (3060) /
 a bom-a / na ngmē anya / tin in ngmin / ka nikpēē / lē yel ka / ka ba
 vē / ka k'o de nuor / o'a yel ka / ka ngmini / kpime / siuwe / weni /
 ka bōor / ka tikye / ka ti bō gu / ti ba yel ka / ala na-a / duno nōn / tō
 kpēē / gana fāān (3080) / na o ir u kyi / kyeni-a / a gobasob zie /
 o'a zu lobi / ti yel ka / k'o tō taa / ka ba soor nye / ka o tō taa / ba
 zin mhan ta / ti soori-a / ka bōor / o'a ir weni / ka ba soor-yaa / ka
 wio wen bi / o'a zōori / kontōm wen bi / o'a zōori / sāākum wen bi /
 o'a zōori / makum wen bi (3100) / o'a zōori / taaba wen bi / o'a zōori /
 bibiir wen bi / o'a zōori / k'o pāā soor / ka kpaartiib wen bi / ka
 bie-aa / kaa lo sōo / ka ti ira / ti zō biera / tin biera-ya / wa tō diē /
 ka ti ira / ka bibiira / ban ba bōng / ti tō-ya / kpē o muō-a / ti
 bōora / a bom bōora (3120) / a bōor bom / ti biira / a zie / ba pieli /
 on pieli / ka ba ira-a / tō ba tomo-ya / wa kuni biiri-a / ka ti wa
 nyē-a / ka ba kpē tule / ka ti bō gu / ti kye-a / a kontōmō-aa / dōō
 yel ka yaa / ka tin de-aa / a tīi bier-aa / ka iōng kuō mi-aa / ka bibie
 ata / ka yel tulu-aa / k'o na tuō na i (3140) / ka o bhaaro / ka tin
 de-aa / a tīi bier kōō ya / ka iōng vūū ya / ka bibie ata / ka yel
 bhaar / o na tuō na / kaa i tule / ti-a de / kyaan bini-a / tia bibiiri /
 ba a bōnge / ti ir-aa / sōng a sori-aa / ka ti yi a muo / wa ta yaa / taa
 nye kuni / ti nye alē-a / ti ba nyāā / ala na (3160) / ka ti lē lieba /
 lē nyōō-aa / lē bieri-aa / ka ti na bōō / a bomo-aa / na kyāāni-a / a
 niō-a / ka ti wa yel ku a bibiiri / ala na-ya / ka ti wa siung ba / lē de
 ba / lē wiili-aa / a soi / ti yi diē / bibira / ti a ta / a kēē ngmier / ka
 ti kyiraa / a kyi / tin na kyiraa (3180) / yi ba nyāā / ka ba bini /
 a gbangbal puo / ti iōng dābie / a fōb / ka ti a ii-a / a gbangbal
 puo / ti yel ka ya / ka ngmin gar kpēē / a gbangbala ba nu / ti a

ngmina / le de-a / a man kuõ-a / ti a iong / a daar nya / ka le lieba /
 taa le loo / baale loo / ban loo-a / ka ti kuli-a (3200) / ti tani / a
 yiraa / tin in ngmin / tu bõ gu / ti yel ka ɔ / ka ba ta ka / baa ta /
 a yiri-aa / bõo kyiin bil / baa nyõo bõobili / baa ziil ba a koo zu / ban
 ziil wa baara / ti de-a / a dãã ya / a saab ya / wa tani-a / baa di bõ
 gu / ka i ba nuõ / ka ba ira-a / iong na gõ-ya (3220) / ka to-yaa / o'a
 kyuur ba / ka ba bari / k'o yel ka / ka bõor / ka ba i gõm / ka ba
 gõmo-a / ka ba kyeli-a / ka ti gyire / le o na yela / ba kyeli / o'a yel
 ka / ka dib / yin di baara / a yel na kyaan / a puor-a / ti yi di bar /
 ti iong na gõ-aa / o'a yel le / ti yel ka (3240) / a yele / na kye-a / yel
 blã nu / ti i yel yoo / ti a bõo-a / ti na nyoo-a / ka ba gon-aa / ka ti
 wiili gu / wa yiina diẽ / ti yin bõora / a naangmina / tin soora / ka
 yi ba tuõ / yel a zie / ona be-aa / yin nye-a / a bõora / tin nyoraa /
 ti ba nye / a nio (3260) / ti kye-a / a kee ngmier nye puo / ti na
 bõõna / a yẽ-nya / tin bõõni-aa / a yel kõõ / ti na gu-a / a yel kõõ /
 na be a ti nio-aa / ti be-a ti puori-aa / ti-a yele / tin yel baara / ti
 le lieba / zo kula / a yira / ti ta ya / t'a zĩ / ti na zĩ-a / a sõõ ba ta /
 ka ti na iri (3280) / bonu sõõnu / a kee ngmier sõõ / tin yel ka ya / ka
 yel yoo-a / be na ti nio / ka yi ba bõõi / ola na diẽ / ka ti ira / bõor
 na wiila / a bibiir / lõõ ni pobo / lõõ ni dõor / ti kye-a / a bõora / na
 dõõ ta / a bo tiisoo / ka yi tõ ale / a ba ia 'ibe / ti kye / pampana
 nyãã (3300) / yi zaa kpo / yi i a niã / ka wa ta ya / ka viĩ ta kpe yi-e /
 ti baara bõor / ti bõõ le-a / ti na i-a / baa kuli ti ta / ka zie / ba
 mani / ti a bõoble-a / nabol bie / o'a kpe wie / wal piel da / na tuo
 iile / o'a waari / wa tara / o'a te / on na te-a / pii ba nyoo (3320) /
 a pii na nyoo-a / o in ngmin / o'a ngme kyeli / o ba duuri / ti
 kpeni-a / a wio puo / o'a lo / on lo-a / ka bõo bere / tieru ka / ba
 nyen neni / ka bi ma-ya / tieru ka / k'o na nyen nen / ka bi sãã /
 tieru ka / ba nyen nen / ka ba wa tani / a we dũo / a sãã yir puo (3340) /
 ka ba yela / ka bi sãã / k'o nen ba ka bei / ka bi ma / k'o nen ba
 ka bei / ba iong na gõ / zoor ba wa / ka ba zĩ teung / ti iong tieru-a /
 ti ba mani / k'o ba yel ka / bonu vẽ / ka na dõo bie / di ni doi / di
 ni doi yoo / ti nir wa de / a o bomo / ni ien bhaaru / ka ala i le-a /
 k'o ba soore (3360) / ka ba yel ka ya / ka a tub tubna / ka ba la
 yi-a / a yong-aa / ti ar manta / ti yel ka õ / ka an ngmẽ le-aa / ka
 ti na de naa / a nen-aa / ko a bi ma / ka nibere / baa bar gõmo / ba
 gyur bari / ti yel ka õ / ka nen yaa / a bi ma / wa i bõo-aa / ka bi
 sãã / mi wa i bõo-aa / ona in yel (3380) / yel bhaaru / yi na bara /
 a nen yaa / ka a bõobil-a / ka ba de a nen yaa / ti tani / bõo kpẽẽ
 yir-a / baa zĩ long ta / ti bong bomo / ba ira neni / a gbero-a / ka

ba ula / le ko / a bi sãã / tikye sie / ku a bi ma / o yel ka ã / ka ba
 walhala iong / o ba de-o / o ba la (3400) / ti yel ka ã / kaa viela / ti
 ba i-a / ka bõobil-a / ba yuori / kun bomo / wa long taa / kuro ba /
 ka ba dire / tikye bin amine / a ni-daar iong / ka ala na / ka i-a / a
 bõor bomo / bõor bõ bonu / ala na-ya / i a bõo zier / baa yeli / bana
 yela / ti yel ka ya (3420) / ka bõoble zaa / fũ wa yi yõ / ba ku
 bom-yaa / tikye-a / al wa kõor / yuomo tur / ti saa ko bom / fu na
 yana a bõor / bonu vẽ / ka ba tuur ale / a bibiir / diora / ka ba mi ir /
 ban wa yela le-a / ka ti le yel oora / ba yel ka dobaa / ti kyiiu nu / ba
 yel ka / ka siëni / o ba ka be (3440) / ti bõor bom puoi / sã sir / o ba
 ka be / ti bõor bom puoi / we kõõ / o ba ka be / ti bõor bom puoi /
 tikye / nir wa ku song / o ben be / ti bõor bom puoi / ka fũ wa
 ku / wala / o ben be / ti bõor bom puoi / ka fũ wa ku / korĩ / o ben
 be / ti bõor bom puoi / nira wa ku (3460) / gbel / o ben be / ti bõor
 bom puoi / ba yel le / ti a are / bõobil-a / ka ba zo yõ / ku-a / a duna /
 wa ti ya / a bõor / ku a bõo bere / ti pãã kye / a yel yõ / banu be
 be / a ti nio / ka ti ba bõõ-ε? / ba na yela / bom na kye-a / a ba
 kye (3480) / a bõo shõor / daar kõõ / a nikpẽẽ / gã ti wa yel / ka bõor /
 na waara / na wa ta / fu ba nyee / bõo pele / ka ba laari / ti zẽzẽ
 ne / kaa ta fõ / ban zẽzẽ ne / ti ba teri-a tierẽe / bonu iong na / ka
 ba tierẽe / a bondiri-na / ni ba di ne / ka ba bõora / ala na (3500) /
 ka ba tierẽe / ka ta fõõ / ka ba yel ka / ka kee-yaa / ka ba yi-a / ka
 ye-le-a / a nibere / ba wa nye / a kee / ba yi / yõ yeli / a bõo sõolia /
 ni a bõo pele / na i-a / a dabõora / ka ba wõ / le na / ka ba yela / ka
 dayere bio / ka ba wa (3520) / kaa põo nyõõ na / o'a de a pio / vaa a
 kee-ya / iong kashõõ / ko duuri dona / a gar zu-ya / ba ti tani / bõo kar
 bere / ba de ba ngmama / iong ba nuri / ti ire na mani / baa mani /
 a kee-ya / bõoble zaa / ni peliir ayi / ni kee / baa wani / t'a kee-a / ba
 zẽ boma / t'on i-a (3540) / a bom na / fere ti-a / tin de naa / sori
 zu-aa / na dõola nyũũ-aa / ban yel le-aa / ti man baar / ba ba siu
 zo kuli / ba ti ta / a sãã yir puo / tikye / põo nyõõ na / na bõõ o
 bom-aa / ba de kee / ba gbẽ / ka lieb zo / ba de kyi / ka lieb zo / ba
 de-a / a kee-a (3560) / iong kuõ-a / ba sãã kee / iong kuõ-a / le mali-
 yaa / a kee kuõ / iong i-ya / ba siung puo / ti dõm-aa / ti duuli-yaa /
 põobil bhola / ba iong vũũ / kaa kara / ban in ngmin? / ba nyõõ
 yaa / iong siung puo / zie ba mhãã / baa gã / wa iri-aa / zĩ lio iong / ba
 wuol dãã (3580) / ti yel ka ã / ka a dãã ya / ka ba len nya / kaa
 miina? / baa ba len o / kaa ba mii / ba nyõõ yaa / yaa iong / ba duur
 ya / ti le duuli / a zi lio iong / ba duul baari / ka zie ba mani / a mutõ
 tuo / ba nyõõ yaa / a ba duu puo / põo nyõõ bie / k'o le iri-aa / de-aa /

o bomo (3600) / bonu bomo / dābil na / i-a bomo / ba iōng / kaa fu-a / ka ba de-aa / ba zō-a / ka lieb saabo / zie ba sobi / dayere bio / ba wa ta / baa nye zō / ka i saabo / baa nye kēē / ka i dāā / baa nye bire / ka i zieri / a naab nēn / ba de-a / iōng laaliir (3620) / ba na iōng laaliir baar / fu be nye / a bōō kyiiē / ka nikpēē / o'a ira / ti yel ka / ka ba tōō ta / ka ba tōō ta / o'a nyōō / a tiitiī nō bili / ni a nō bere / lōng taa / a bōōr yiri / na ku-a / bana bōōr kuba / baa buoli / bōō pele / baa wa ta / ti yel ka ã / ka bomō (3640) / tin dōō yel ka / o tara na-ya / ti ba taa / olō na diē / ti kaab bōōr / ti pāā yel ka / ka ngmini / ka kpime / ka siuwe / ka weni / ka bōōr / duno nōn / kure piime / tō kpēē / gana fāān / ti ir kyī / zō kyena / gobasob zie / o'a zōōre / ti zu lōb (3660) / k'o nyōō / k'o nyōō-a / k'o ir weni / o na ir weni / bonu weni? / kōntōm wen bi? / k'o zōōr / wiō wen bi? / k'o zōōr / sāākum wen bi? / k'o zōōr / makum wen bi? / k'o zōōr / taaba wen bi? / k'o zōōr / kpaartiib wen bi? / k'o lo sōō / yaa nyāā ka ti turi / ire ni bebe / wa yi naa (3680) / a diē / alē na / ka vūū ta duuri / ka ti bōōra / ka ti mana / a yele-a / nye lē / tikyē / a boma / ti ma yel ka / ka kaab nu-a / kaa ia ti bōōr bomo / ka singbile-a / ala na / ka mi i / a ti bōōr bomo / ka biō / ka mi i / a ti bōōr bomo / ka nuō-a (3700) / ka mi i / a ti bōōr bomo / a zāā / bio na diē / ka ti bōōra / ka ti bōng / ti baari / a ti yele / ti na yela / ti bōō kyiiina / baa nye dibu / zēzē nē-a / bōōr na di / ti a kyuur ba / baa bar kpibo / ti ire na zī / ti yel-a / a bōōbil-ya / ka mutong nya / na kpiera (3720) / ka daba muna no / kaa bōōbil-a / dābie / ba kpē ba / ka ba zī-a / iōng tieru / bōō kpēē-ya / o'a nyu dāā / ti ir ara / ti yel ka / ka bōōbil-a / ka bondiri-a / ban dir-a / ka ka olō wa / i wena / sirzaa-ya / kaa-bondiri-a / a kū be ba puure / ba zuri kū biere / ba poi (3740) / na ina po vlai / ka ba duuri / na saa / ti be nyera / wal piel bin / zaa wiriwiriwiri / ka ti pōble / ni dable / pōō nyōō / ni da nyōō / wa tera puor ayi / wani-a / a bōōr ya / olō no / ni bōō wena / na lōng kpē / ti bōōble-a / mi wa kyiiiri gu / t'a a won-o / ti na bōōna (3760) / a bōōr puō / ti a miur-aa / ti na lō-a / a yi zumi-ya / a tiisōō-nya / alē na / ka ti zī kyele / bōōble-a / wa sōng o puō / bōōble-a / wa gana fāān / ka bōōble / wa ngme nira / a diē bibir-a / ko na yela zaa / ba yele / bōōbile / ba kyiiro / bana kyiiir o-aa / ka a nikpēē (3780) / lē zī zom / ti yel ka ya / ka ba bōōna / a kyile / ka olō nu / na kpē a diom / ka ba dea / kpeni / ti bina sōō / tia nikpēē / k'o yel ka / ka tomo / ban dōng tō / kaa ba tō vlai / ka ba soor / kaa in ngmin ba tō vlai? / ti a kyile-aa / yi dōō kuna bōōbila / ti ba kpē kyile / ti ku a bōōbō ni daar (3800) / a ba tu sore / lē na / ka n yel ka /

a kyile na kpe-a / a diõ-ma / yi gyire 'ib / a kyile ba kpe / a kyile na kpe-a / ka ba tuuri kuõ / ti mire a sob / k'o kpieni / ti ta ni / dãbie ba kpe bobo / ka nikpẽẽ / yel ka ya / ka a kyile-a / ka bom kpẽẽ ba nue / ti tono tom bere / a kyile baa bini / a zaanuõra bana (3820) / ka ba yel ka ya / ka bõo kyine / ka ba kaar ba bõobõ zie / ka a diẽ / on a yel le-a / bõo kyine le soor / ka ba kaa ni bo? / k'o yel ka ya / ka diẽ-na / ba kuro bõobil / a yel miõ kub / a bõobili / ba zõ dãbie / k'o yel ka ã / ka ba i yele / ka ti le i yel / tin yel ka diẽ / ka ba kuro yi-na / ka nir wa di sãõ / ti wa ti sooli (3840) / ka bala wa ku fu-a / ba kũ le tuõ fu siung-ye / a daar na ni nya / ka bamina-a / wõ-yaa / ka-ya / ale yaa / yi na ire ti a bõora / n sãõn / bona fu sãõ? / k'o yel ka ya / k'o sãõn daba / ka ba le soor dõor / ti yini mi? / ka ba yel ka / ka ba mi sãõn / bamine sãõn pobo / bamine zeb ni nibe / ti alza ia bõo kyiru / ba yele (3860) / ka ba bar ba zõm / ti yel ka ya / ka ba na tuna bõobil ser / ti tuur ba-a / bar ka ba zĩ ba yõ / ba zĩ / ti a nikpẽẽ / o'a yel ka / ka ba wan yelingpuo / baa wani / k'o yel ka / ka ba wan kuõ bhaaru / ka ba wa tani / a kuõ bhaaru-a / k'o puura kyile / ti kel ya / a diẽ / bibiri / bibir faa no / ti i-a (3880) / bibir vla / a diẽ bibira / bibir nuõ-nu / ti i bibir tuo / a diẽ bibira / bibir bhaaro-nu / ti i bibir tulu / bõoble-a / a diẽ / o tẽra o zu / o'a yel le / ti yel ka ya / ka ba de nuõ / ka to tani-a / ka kyile iong / ka ti zeli sor / ba de / a nuõ / na kaso / no boonu? (3900) / nor dazio ba i-oo / baa tani / k'o yel ka ya / ka ba tu nuor-aa / ka ti zeli sor / baa de nuori / ti yel ka yaa / ka kpime / siuwe / weni / kontome / tengaani / ka bõor / kure piime / duno non / to kpẽẽ / ka gana fããn / o'a ir o kyi / gani-a / a gobasob zie (3920) / ti kye / o na kyena / o'a nyãã / ka ti tu kaa / a yi bõobil / yi wõna / ti a diẽ / bibiri / a bõobõ kub / bibiri / a diẽ-a / yaa nye kyile / na bin yi sãõ / a yele na nya / ka ti na tu / a diẽ / ti le yel ka ã / ka bõor / ka ba bar ser / baa bari (3940) / k'o yel ka / ka ba tõ wuur / baa tõ / ko yel ka ya / ka bõobõ / ka ba ir bom / ba ba iri / bonu bom? / a gan kpẽẽ no-a / ka ti ir o-aa / ka ba yel ka / ka bõobõ / ka ba to nyũũ / ba to / k'o yel ka / ka yel nya-a / na ngme-anya / ka ti bõ gure / ti a diẽ bibiri / yi na zeli na soraa (3960) / ka ti tu tub koo / o na yela / ti le yela / bõo kyine / ka ba nar ba naru / bõo kyine / ba ba soori / ti nar banu? / k'o ba yel ka ya / ka no kpẽẽ gyelo / ka wiõra diẽ / ka tikye-a / a gbelme-a / na be-a / a kuor nuor iong / ka ba lhor / ti ir bin teung / ka ti bõõ-a / a bom / a diẽ bibir (3980) / baa lhuri / ban wa baara / k'o yel ka ã / ka bõobõ / ka ba gba bie / ka ba nye / ka ka wenu-a / wa tu ba sora / ka ba na

loba bie / ka lo vla / ka ba nyoo bōobō / a diē / a bōor / ba na yel
 ka / ba nyōora bōor / a diyē zaa / wa yi naa yuōna / a diē bibir / ba
 bōor nyōob / ba yel ka ǝ (4000) / ba wōn / baa lōb bie / ka bie-a /
 o ba lo shōo / an lo shōo-aa / ka ba ta kyile / ka ba ta-ya / ka ba
 yel ka ǝ / ka ba nyoo / ka nyoo kyile / nikpēē-a / na bōō wuuro /
 k'o yel ka / ka ba tō yuo / ba tō / ka nikpēē / k'o uori-aa / ti yel
 ka / ka lōo / ka na ir do u-aa (4020) / ti yel ka ya / ka ba tu ko / a
 bōobili / ba bōor na nyōora diē / ti tikye a lōo-a / ka lōo bhaaro nu /
 ti i lōo tuo / ka lōo vla no / ti i lōo faa / ka tikye-a / a dalingpuo
 wōb / ka ni-aa / a mangbul ien / k'o na ko-onaa / ka diē / o na yel
 lē-aa / ti yel ka / ka ba dōm gyil / ba dōm-i / ban dōma gyila (4040) /
 ka ba iōng kuor / baa iōng / kaa lo shōo / o na yel lē / o'a yel ka / ka
 ba pur a tīi / ka ba pura / k'o yel ka bōo kyiin bil / ka ba tōo ta /
 baa tōo ta / ko'a yel ka / kaa ib na lē / tikye-a / yi ta wa ia / ka
 bōor / lē wa tu / a kori / yi dōō tua / ba lē pura tīi / k'o lē uori (4060) /
 ti yel ka / ka lōo bhaaro / ka ti i lōo tuo / na mōgar naab / ani
 dalingpuo gbeun / ka o na ku-una / dābie / ba kpieri / a bōobili /
 ka ba kon / blā puo-yaa / ka ba wan / gbul bere / ba tani / a dio
 puo / bōobili / ba koni / ka ai / ka diē / ka ba wēna (4080) / bana
 yel lē-a / ti ba yel ka / ka bōo kyiine / ka ba wan sēē / baa wani /
 wa tana / ka ba iōng tīi / ti yel ko ba / ka ba ta i-a / ka o piel / o
 bōobil nēē / ka ba ter zom / baa teri / nikpēē-a / o'a ir olo / bōo
 kōora banu / ko yel ka / ka ba tēra? / ka ba yel ka / ba tēra (4100) /
 k'o lē soor / ka ba tēra / ka ba yel ka / ba tēra / ko lē soor / ka ba
 tēra / ka ba yel ka / ba tēra / ban yel lē-a / k'o lē soor / ka boonu
 k'o yel ka ba tēra? / k'a ba yel ka / a bōobō bom kura / k'o yel ka /
 ka bōo zaa / ko ma maal kaa o bōoble vla / ka blā puo-a / ka nikpēē
 zī-a / ti uori / ti yel ka (4120) / ka lōo na ku-una / ti yel ka ya /
 ka ba kpiira vūū / baa kpiira vūū / ti kye lio / k'o yel ka / ka
 bōobō / ka bōo zaa / k'o tēra? / ba lē tēri / k'o lē bōō lē uori / gbāa
 ayi / ka bōobō kon / k'o yel ka / k'a tīi bir / ka ba niē / ba ba niē-aa /
 ban niē-aa / k'o yel ka, ka ba baara / ka ba yel ka (4140) / ka ba
 baara / ka bōobō kub / ka pāā tana / on na yel lē-aa / wa baara /
 ti tōo kyile-a / ko ta / k'o nyoo-a / bin teung / ti dōm sinshuura / ti
 yel ka / ka bōobil / ka ba nyoo ba / ba nyoo / ti ba tōo / a gbul
 bere / ka ta yaa / ka bōobil kuon / tikye-a / nibere-a (4160) / na bōō
 wuuro / ba laari / tikye-a / a bōo kpēē-a / k'o ir nyoo-a / a bōobil
 kpēē / ba tēri / ti uori / o na uori-a / ti yel ka lōo / ka lōo faano /
 ti yel ku bōo kyiine / ka ba ta wa ira ka wa kpier a bōoble nēēi / o'a
 yeli / ti yel ku a bōoble / ti i a tīi-a / o'a pioli / ka bōoble / o'a kuoli /

o'a gā (4180) / ti yel ku-a / a bōō kyīine / ka ba zaa / ka ba kpe [i a
 tīī] / ba zaa ba i tīī / ba ba piōli / ba zaa kpo ba kuoli / ba gā /
 k'o bhe iangan kaa / ti yel ka / ka ba kyaan tule / ka ba ngmaa
 yielu / baa ngmaa yielu-u / ti gaal bari / ti le ngmaa yielu-a / ka
 kũũ kuna / sambar ata / ti le yel ka / ka kũũ kuna bōō wen faa bar /
 ka kũ ta kue (4200) / ti le ngmaa a yielu / ka vin gā gā dio / ka sooro
 ba kai / ti le ngmaa a yielu / ka ba wan kuba / ka ba ya bōōbō /
 ti le ngmaa a yielu / ka ano yir lue na / na gōn gōn / ti le ngmaa
 a yielu / ka ya / ka ba bōōni yel / ka diē bibir yel faa nu / ti le
 ngmaa / ka ba zaa ba laar / ka diē bibir laar bio na / baa le ngmaa /
 ban wa baara / ti yel ka / ka ba pōl nuō (4220) / ba ngmaa nuō / ka
 nuō lo kpai / ka ba le ngmaa yielu / ka bōō wuō ngme nuō / na kpa
 kpa kpa / baa ngmaa ulō / wa baari / ti nikpēē-a / yel ka ya / ka
 ye-le-a / na pōō ti / ka ti na in ngmini? / ka nyē-a / a ye-le / ti bōōn
 gure / ka tikye a kũn / na gā shōō anya / ka ti na in ngmin? / ka ba
 na in ngmin? / ka ba na zeli naangmin (4240) / ka ba ba siũ-a
 bōōbil / o ba yel lē / ti ba yel ka ya / ka ba yi yong / ba ba yi / ti
 wa kpe / yel ka / ka ba yina / ka ti nar gu / ka ba le yi-a / ka ti bōō /
 a bom na-a / na be be-a / ba ba iri / ti ar man / ka bana in ngmin? /
 ka kōō yaa / yel ka yaa / ka ulō nye na bom / ka tina (4260) / kpe
 na diomaa / ti de gbelme / na i-a kontōme bomō-a / o'a dōm nyē-aa /
 ka nibere / ba la muro / ti yel ka / al wa i le / sizaa / kaa na wia ba
 na / ka ba kpe-aa / ti taa / a diomaa / zī zom-aa / ka bōō kyīin
 kpēē-a / o'a de nuōri / yel ku a bere / k'o ba yel ka ã / ka pampana
 nyāā / yi nyũũ (4280) / t'a yi bōō kyīine / yi na tun ka ti nyē-aa /
 k'o yel ka / ka o ku gbelme / ka ba dōm, ka bōōbō na ira / o ba
 dōm-u / dōm bō gu / ti le ta yaa / a nibere zie / ba [yeli] / ka ba
 bōōn gu / ka nibere-aa / ba la muro / ti yel ka ã / ka ban bō gu-aa /
 ka ban puōn / ka ban faa bō gu-aa / ti le yel ka ya / ka yi yel nyaa / ka
 ba mul taa (4300) / baa muli / ka nibere yel ka ya / ka ba vē / ti le
 ta / a bōōbil kpēē zie / ka fu wa nyōō tiē / do-a / ka ba na kaa na
 la fu na le siu / ti yel ka ya / ka bōōbil-aa / ba ba gāā / wa ta i ier
 nya / ti yel ka / a tiē fun do-a / ka ba na fu na siu-a / yel vla na /
 tikye-a bōōbil / tina bō gu-aa / ti haana ni ba / ka bōō kyīini
 nu (4320) / wa ire diōra / ti nyōō baa / ka wa yi diē / ngmē-aa nyaa /
 ti kōō wa tēr yel na yela / ba yeli / ka ti yel ba / ti bōōbō-ya / yel
 ka ya / ka yi nye / a yini-a / bōō pele / kō zaa ba tuō / na tuō siung
 ba / ban yel le-a / baa baari / ti le de a gbelme / a bōō kyīine zie /
 baa dōmi / ti de ba nē-a (4340) / ti iōng ba tobo / ti kuur / ba ba
 iri / ban ira / ka nya ma soor o bōō / nyine fu zaa kyen / ka ba yel

ka / ba ba bong zie ba na kyena / ba na ir baara / ba ba yel ka /
 ka ba won / a siun yielu / ka ba yel ka / ka bōōbō ma dire na / ka
 nya ma bar o nii ni zōō / ka nya ma bar o piir ni zōō / ka nya ma
 bar pōō ni paar / ti wa long taa nir yir / ti ba long taa bonderi /
 ka ti i iōng taa nuuri (4360) / ka ti zē korkor ti ir / tia bōō wen
 boma / yi na nyē kaa fēri tia / ti yel ka bōōbō na dire-aa / ba ngmaa
 baari / ti yel ka ya / ka bōōble-a / a diē / bom tu yiā / a yel nya
 puō / ti na ku yi-a / lē siun yi-a / ka ul wa ira-a / wa ti yel ku nira /
 ulō wa iera o zu wēl gele / ulō wa iera ko puor pur bhaba / ulō wa
 iera ko nyōvur mi na ngmaana / k'o yel ka yaa / ka tengkori zaa bom
 na / ka ba ma dana (4380) / a bōō tīi-ya / ni wur daa-aa / an ni tur
 kuba / ka fū ba bō-aa / fu na kyeni / ti tuo bōō yaa / ko wa bōō /
 ola na-aa / na kurō fu / a bōōm / o bōōr yel / fū-aa / mi na ku-o
 na / a dib / tikyē / fū ba bōōi / a fu bible-a / ni daar kōō iōng-yaa /
 wa ngmier nōkpen / ni a fu bōō ma yirdem (4400) / ti a bom
 nyan / bō kpeung-nu / o in a ti tamiur / ti ia guolu / ti ia a kuur /
 ti ia da yeru / tikyē-aa / fū ba bōō-aa / ka bōō wena-aa / wa kpe yi
 yiri-aa / bibil boyen / na kyē-a / a dabuo puō / tikyē ka bōō wen /
 pāā yi / o na ina-a / ka fu maal / nii ayi / piir ayuōb / iōng buur
 ata (4420) / iōng nuur lizē-ayi-ni-pie / ka fu maali-a / ti pāā zī
 teung / pāā bōō na bōōr / bōōble-a / wa yi-a / wa kyen bōōr / o'a
 dire-a / na sinduura / tikyē-a / a bōōr nyōōb puō / bōōble-a / wa
 ter yē-aa / wa ter nuōr-aa / wa ti kyen bōōr-aa / a ti zī-aa / ka bala
 ba / kub nuōr / ta wa ire / wa de nuōre (4440) / tikyē a bōōr-aa /
 yin wa kyena / ti nyē-aa / bō kā soba / ka lō de nuōr / yin na bar
 una / yin wa kyena / ti tuor / bōō kā sob / k'o kyen a bōōr / fu na
 vēna / ka bal wa yel ka / ka fu de nuōr / ka fu yel ka ō / n wōna /
 tikyē a nuōra / ni daar kō / bonu vē / ka fu zōōr? / a bōō kā (4460) /
 na be be-aa / ala na / vē-a / ka fu zōōr / ti fu wa yi-a / a bōōra / fu
 na tura / a bōōr / sora / al wa won nira / fu na faa-ona / ni daar /
 baa yel lē / ba baari / ti iri / ba ngmaa yielu / a kyaar kpēē puō / ti
 de sinshuura / de ni gbelme / ba dōmu (4480) / ti ngmaa yielu /
 ka ba ngmaa vuor ku ti / ka bōōbō tōl / ban ngma ku ti / ka ti yi
 a yeong / ti ta ti lē ngmaa / ka ba tōō yi puor / ka bōōbō tōl / baa
 ngmaa / wa baari / bōō kyiin biiri / baa zō kpe / zie vūū daari / baa
 lobi-ii / a bōōr yela / tin ira / ka ba ma yi-e / ti lōba / a dakume /
 tina yi-a (4500) / a yō / dakume-a / baa duu biēū / ani singbile / ni
 nyie / ka ba di-a / ba ba di bō gu / ti lē kpe dienu / ban diena / baa
 baari / ti ka ti yi-a / viiri a yira / sambar ata / ti lē wa kpe / ti a
 paalu-aa / ti na yire-aa / bōō kyiine / yaa pōō bōōbō / ba nimie /

ka ba yel ka (4520) / bɔɔbili / yi bɔɔna / zie / ti na pɔɔ / a bɔɔr-
 aa / ka ba yel ka ɔ̃ ɔ̃ / ka ba yel ka ya / ka diẽ bibira / yin na bɔ̃ na
 bɔɔr / a bɔɔra / tengkuri bom nu / dẽũ dem ter ona / k'o i ba yel
 faa / ti i ba yel vla / ban wa kpe teung / naa ti ter kpeni / ti bar ku
 ti-aa / k'o dɔɔn ti-aa / kuro a kun / duno nɔn (4540) / nyãã bɔɔra /
 ba bu yel ka bɔɔ kara / ka ba vɛ-a / ka zie vie / ka ti bong bom / na
 be be-aa / a ti dagara / yel kpeung / naa bɔɔr / a ti ier kpeung /
 in a bɔɔr / fũ ba i bɔɔ / faa wonai / a fu sããkum mine / yele-i / ti-a
 bɔɔr-aa / a bɔɔr nibere / ba yɔɔ mɔ na / yɔɔ mɔ ni bo? / ya nyãã
 (4560) / a bɔɔr-aa / z̃z̃z̃ kpẽẽ / ulɔ ni-aa ti bɔɔr / nikpẽẽ / belibaar /
 o i na ti bɔɔr nir / kyaalipio / o i na ti bɔɔr nir / kpan kyaaro / o i na
 ti bɔɔr nir / damdamwule / o i na ti bɔɔr nir / burngmaan / o i na ti
 bɔɔr nir / nikpẽẽ ni bo? / n yel ka / a bon piure / a ni kpããkpol nɔra /
 boonu vɛ / ka i a ti bɔɔ bom? (4580) / nye a z̃z̃z̃ kpẽẽ / a ona i a ti
 bɔɔ bomo / ti ti nyɔɔra bɔɔr / ti ba taraa s̃s̃ / a z̃z̃z̃ kpẽẽ / ulɔ nu /
 b̃b̃ a s̃s̃ ku ti / boonu k'o b̃b̃ni? / o b̃b̃ni-na / a taan / o na b̃b̃
 a s̃s̃ yaa / wa naa taan-aa / a t̃ĩs̃ɔɔ / wa di ti ti bar-a / ka ti bong
 ka zie mana / le na ka ti de ulɔ iɔng a bɔɔr bomo puɔ / a kpããkpol
 nɔra / ti ba b̃b̃-a a s̃s̃ / ka ti na kɔ-a / a zie ba mana (4600) / t'a
 bɔɔra / a kuɔbu / an i kuoba / ka kuɔrbie / wa iɔng guɔ̃ / zie ba
 mani / kpããkpol nɔraa / o'a ngme kpekpe iɔng / a bie ba iri / o'a
 gaa wie / damdamwule / ti-a bong a zie s̃s̃-i / a saa ba waari / ka
 ti bur / kyier ni-a / ka saa war / ka ti kyãã burɔ / ti bo bɔɔ ka burɔ /
 in bum baarai / damdamwule (4620) / saa son ba lo / ka ti iri-aa /
 a kyii-a / gaa ni buru / fu ba wɔ̃ / ka ba kyiire / le ba / dier ba
 kukɔi? / ka ti buri-aa / bur b̃b̃ gu / ka wa yel ka / ka ba kukɔi
 dieru / ka ban g̃ɔ̃ baara / kaa kyii-a / ti na bura / kaa diera kukɔi-a /
 ka a kũn ia iibe / o'a yel le / ka ti bar kyii / a buru (4640) / le na ka
 ti de-a / iɔng-a / a bɔɔr bom puɔ / a ni a kpããkpol nɔra / belibaara /
 a uun ba yi / ti ba b̃b̃ a zie na kyier le / ti belibaara / a ba tara a s̃ɔɔ /
 k'o wa yi-a / a saa par / ti wa kyier / a muna kpeb zie / a wun yin
 baar / a le s̃ɔɔ na / ti ma ngmaa kyii / tin ngma baara / ulɔ ni o p̃b̃ /
 ba wa tɔlɔ / wiil ti a s̃s̃ (4660) / le na / ti ti ire / ka bɔɔbil naa s̃s̃ / ta
 iɔng ba / a ba kyiiu / le na ya / ka ti de-a / a belibaar / ko i a ti
 bɔɔr bom / kyaalipio-ya / a bɔɔri / m̃ã d̃ã na / ba ma duu / ka
 kyaalipio / zi lio iɔng / pɔɔbil bhɔlu / baa gure / ka wa tɔlɔ-yaa /
 ti kon-a / ka duo ta s̃s̃ kuɔ̃-i (4680) / baa iri / ti ɔng kuɔ̃ / wani / ka
 i-a ti bɔɔr bomo / ale na / ka ti de-o / iɔng ti bɔɔr puɔ / burngmaan
 daa / ni o ti woo zu / o'a z̃i be / tia a ti bɔɔra / nɔ tuo bomo / o'a
 wa z̃i / a ti woo zu / zie ba mani / k'o ba buɔli / ka bɔɔ kara / bɔɔ

kara / bɔɔ kara / o na buɔl lɛ-aa (4700) / tia iri / zie ba pīi / t'a iri / de a saaba / ku a ba bibiir / baa di / ti lɛ gā / ban wa iri / tɛra ba nɔ tuo / ka ti wa i a bɔɔr / alɛ na yaa / ka ti ma iɔng / ko i a ti bɔɔ nir / ti nyɛ-a / a kǎǎ dakora / o mi ina ti bɔɔr bom / a o mi-a / wa wuul ti na / a sǎǎ / ka ti na i bɔɔr (4720) / bonu sǎǎ na ku wiil / a ti zie? / ti-a bǎǎ a sǎǎ-i / tikyɛ-a / bɛng puuru-a / wa taya / o ni o pɔɔ-a / ba zebu / a tiisɔɔ / baa iri / k'o kpɛ-a / a o po kpɛɛ puɔ / suur ba kpɛ-o / k'o ti bɔɔri / o bondiri / on na kpɛ-a / ti nyɛ biɛng / o'a bheli / wa tani-a / a nikpɛɛ-aa (4740) / o'a nyɛ / yel ka ai / ka lɛ na ka / ka ti bibiiri / ka irɛ naa sǎǎ / o na yel lɛ-a / o ba buɔl ba / a wiil ba bɔɔr tubu / wiil ba a kyiiuru zaa / lɛ na vɛ-a / ka ti ma de-o / ko i-a bɔɔr nikpɛɛ / fu irɛ bomo / ka nibɛ ba bǎǎ a para / ba na ma yel ka / ka in ngmin / ka ba de bom piuri / iɔng bɔɔr puɔ / lɛ na vɛ / ka bɔ pla daar (4760) / ka ba ma wiili-yi / a bom na vɛ / ka i a ti bɔɔ boma / ti-a bɔɔra / o tɛra o ma / ti tɛra o sǎǎ / n yel ka / k'o tɛra o ma ni sǎǎ / a sǎǎ nu saa / ti a ma nu teung / yi bɔɔ na par / n na yel lɛ-a? / ka ba yel ka ǎ ǎ / baa bɔɔ-i / n na yel lɛ-a / ka yi ba bǎǎ-a / a saa no-a / o lɛ wa wa / a teung-a / o ba ma mhǎǎ (4780) / ka nibɛrɛ / ba yi kɔ / ba na kɔ-a / ba nyɛ bomo / ba na nyɛ bomo / a nyɔɔ a bɔɔra / alɛ na / ka saa i sǎǎ / ti ka teung i ma / yɛ wǔn ala? / yi na wǔ alɛ-a / ti ti na tuura bɔɔra / wa ta ka-ya / a bɔɔ muna bio-a / ka a ngmɛ a-nya / yi ba wǔ-a? / ka ni dar iɔng / ka bible-a / wa yini nuɔr / a tuura (4800) / a bɔɔra / ni o yel miǎ / ti-aa Kusiele / a ti bɔɔr lɔnluɔɔ naba / a Kpiel biiri / ka bala-a / ba bɔng bɔɔrɛ / ka fu wa nyɔɔ ba-a / wa wiil baa bɔɔra / a wur daa / ka ba na ya / ti bar a tur kuba / ka Kusieli mi wa bɔng / mi wa nyɔɔ ti Kpiele biir / a wur daa / ti mi na ya / ti bar a tur kuba / ba na yara bɔɔra / a tɛra par / par ni bo? (4820) / da(b) sǎ / na ba buɔr kyier-a / ka ba la ya a wur daa / ulɛ nu k'o ma zɔm / kyeni a bɔɔr / lɛ na vɛ-a / ka ti kyen ka ti de a wur daa / ti a tur kuba / a kɛɛ ni / a nuur / fu na sǎǎ / a kyii-a / fu na sǎǎ / ala naa tur kuba / ma yira wǔ? / ti a bɔɔbila / bal wa iri yi baara / ka yin wa yi yuomo ata / ti kyaan tɛr nyɔvura / a bɔɔr tu funa (4840) / fū wa i yuomo ayi / ti wa kpi-a / a bɔɔr / kūū na ku fu / ka fu i yuomo ayi ni yuon ngmǎǎ / ti wa kpi-a / a bɔɔr bom ben be / ka bɔɔbil zaa / wa ti yi vla / ti zaana bɔɔr a / ni daar iɔng / ka ti faa taa / ban yela / yel lɛ wa ta / a bɔɔ pla / a bɔɔ pla bano / a bɔɔ mutong / ti na nyɔɔ-a / ti wiili-a / a biira (4860) / lǎǎ ni pɔbɔ / lǎǎ ni dɔɔr / ti lɛ kpɛ-a / a di kpɛɛ puɔ / yaa nyɛ dibu / ya nyɛ neni / dǎǎ ba naa / ka ti nyuu / iɔng na gǎ / ti yel yɔɔ / na be diom /

ti a ier / wa baar / tikyɛ / lɛ lieba / nyo dib / ti a di / bɔɔbili / yi a di /
 bɔɔ bera (4880) / yi a di / kpime / yi a di / siuwe / yi a di / weni /
 yi a di / yi a long taa / di-a / bio ba viɛ / ka ba yel-a / a diɛ-a / bibir
 ba wa / ka ba bɔng yaa / a fu ni-yɔɔnu / ni-yɔɔnu na ngmin? /
 ni-yɔɔnu naa / a pu pla / ni-yɔɔnu naa / na tɛr bom ku-a nira (4900) /
 ni-yɔɔnu naa / na nɔ nir bie-aa / ni-yɔɔnu naa / na iong nibaal
 nir / fu iong ba-a / ti a diɛ bibira / bala wa waara / ni a nuura / fu
 na yiina / a so fu kuɔ / a zɛ kã / ti-a / n na wiil funa / bom kɔ /
 yi zaa kpo nyɛ / bɔɔbili / ba gyirɛ / k'o shɔɔ o nu / ti yel ka / yi
 nyɛn boni? (4920) / boonu? / a dābol-i / ba yel ka ka nu no / k'o
 yel ka ɔ ɔ / ka nu ba nũɛ / ka-yaa / ka bom ben be / o'a buɔl bɔɔbil
 kyiira / k'o buɔli / o yuori / k'o yel ka / ka Benima / a ulɔ na bɔɔ o /
 ka n bɔɔ gu / k'o yel ka / ka a nyɛna / a ti bɔɔbɔ ziri / ana nyãã /
 diɛ / yi in a bɔɔbɔ (4940) / yini yaa / wa yi-a / daar kɔɔ-a / wa nyɛ
 kyu-u-a / k'o ara / ka nir wa yel ka / ka fu nyɛ kyu-u / taa wa lɛɔr
 kaare / ti yel ka / ka fu nyuu na / daar zaa / fu na yel lɛ-a / ka ba
 man ka fu nyuu na / ti fa nyuu-e / lɛ na / yin ni a dakume / ba wa
 nyɛ a kyu / yel ka / ka fu nyuu na daar zaa / ka lɛ na (4960) / ka ba
 ma yel ka / a bɔɔbɔ ziri na / bɔɔ gyinyirɛ / a ba i bio / yi-a yi /
 a bio ya / ka ba yel ka / ka bɔɔ kyiine / ka ba wani-a / saara / ni
 pel-liira / ka wani diom / ka bala wa yina bɔɔbila / a dɔɔr zaa yina
 ngmaa / yin iong a pele puɔ / ti piiri-a / ba miɔnga / kyier ni-a /
 yin ti dɔm ba zɔn nyɛ / ka bala wa yi-a yong-aa (4980) / ka ba
 ngmaa yielu-a / ka bura wɔ nyũũ / fãã fãã fãã / baa kye ni ti zĩ /
 ban na zĩ-a / ka ba mine / baa waari nuuri / a ti bɔɔr bom na / sɛn
 mine / ba war kyiini / a ti bɔɔr bom na / pɔɔbil-a / waari kal /
 ka dɔɔr / waari nuur / baa varaa / ban varaa / bɔɔ kyiine / bɔɔ
 kyiin kpɛung banu / o'a dere (5000) / a ala / a ba zie / iong ni-a /
 ka ti lɛ tuura ti bɔɔr / ban wa baara / ti yel ka bɔɔbila / a diɛ bibir-a /
 yi in bɔɔ kari / ti-a bɔɔr yele / a ba yire yi nɛɛ-i / ala wa yi-aa / bɔɔr
 u fu ngmir / ti-a bɔɔr / tengkori bom nu / ti-a bɔɔr-aa / yel vla nu /
 ti-a bɔɔr-aa / kũũ kub bom nu / ti-a bɔɔr-aa / nyɔvur bom nu (5020)
 ti a bɔɔr-aa / tamiur bom nu / ti-a bɔɔr-aa / kukur bom nu / ti-a
 bɔɔr-aa / no guol bom nu / ti-a bɔɔr-aa / yel maal bom nu / ka fũ
 wa / wa bɔɔ / a bɔɔr mi-a / a in na bom / ka tengkori-aa / ka nibɛ /
 ba dɔɔ bɔɔ-a / yɔɔ-i / ka nire wa bɔɔ-a / o'a ma in na naa / ti i libie
 na / ti bom zaa nalu (5040) / o na yel lɛ-a / ku a bɔɔbɔ / ti-a bɔɔ
 sɔɔla / fu kun tuɔ bare / fu ma ngme na / a bibie ata / mutɔng ata /
 tiisɔɔ ata / ka bɔɔ pla / ba na ngme na / mutɔng ata / tiisɔɔ ata /
 ti baari-a / fu kun tuɔ bare / ti a bɔɔr-aa / a in wal piel gbɛɛ /

ma neɓ ɓe tuli wa / ɓe na ka ti ma yel ka / ka boɔr i / yin na zɔn
 kul-aa (5060) / ti a gbelme nye na / yi na tera / k'o in na gyela / ka
 dayere bio / tin wa nye fɔɔ / tina wa de ona / a pio bin / fu wa iong
 gbelme / ka poɔ na fu-a / ka daba na fu-a / ti wa sɔɔ poɔ / fu sɔɔ
 na boɔr / ka daba wa sɔɔ poɔ / yi na gɔɔ-na / a zie kɔɔ bar / ale na /
 a arba / yi be nye / a boɔ dib na / arbil kpɛɛ na (5080) / ba fu faa / a
 dɔɔ / lɔɔ ni saabo / lɔɔ ni neni / o'a fu faa / ba di / ban na di ɓe-a /
 yi bɔɔ ka / nin daar iong / yi nibe na ba / fũ ter ma-aa / ka o la
 zɔɔr fu bara / fu ma kye na sã zie / ka fu sã wa zɔɔr fu bara / fu
 ma kye na ma zie / ala na ya / ka arbile / o ba i bon diɛnai / a fu
 yir yebe / ni a arbile (5100) / ba zaa in boyen / a fu zie / n na yel
 a ɓe-a / yi a wɔ / arbile-a / a tengkori / yebe / ni yebe-a / ba tera ba
 sã / ka ba yuɔra / ba a yi / ani ba sã / ba kyen puo puo / a ti kuɔri /
 ka arbile / wa yɔɔ kyeɓi / a puo puo / ti nye-aa / bibiir ayi / bala
 ni ba sã (5120) / ka ba kuɔri / bana kuɔr-aa / k'o yel ka / ka ba ir /
 ka bibiiri / baa ir suuri / ba nyɔɔ a puo / ba ngmaa / ngma neɛ / lɔɔ
 ni a sã / ko yel ai / maa ni baala / n kun tuɔ kɔi / maa ko uu yi /
 ka yi wa poɓi / ka wa ire yini ngmin / na i ngmini ka ti / ko zɛtaa? / ka
 ba ngma ba puo / ba ko baari (5140) / ka arbile-na / wa nye o
 madaba / k'o be mutɔng puo / kuɔri / da nyɔɔ ba nu / ti nye bibiiri /
 baa ko baar ti zĩ / ka bie-aa / arbile-aa / o'a kyen ti de kuuri / o'a
 nyɔɔ o madaba / nuɔri / o'a ko / wa ko baari / ka madab-a / o'a iri /
 ti yel ka / k'o arbile / naa bibiir / o no na arbile (5160) / gɔɔ a
 bibiir / ka ni daar kɔɔ / ka ulɔ ba kabe / ti-a arbile / wa de bomo /
 ka bibiir / wa nyɔɔ faa / ka bana kpina / ɓe na / ka arbile / ma ira
 bomo / ka ti i gbili / ɓe na ka ti ma yel k'o-aa / a boɔbila / boɔbil
 paali-a / ka yi wɔ arba par / ti-a a boɔr-aa / ti na yel ka-aa / yin wa
 yi a boɔra / a boɔ gbelme (5180) / bal wa pio / ka yin wa yi / ka
 bible-a / boyen / wa be be / wa kyena / nir boɔra / ti zĩ-aa / a ba
 i dib na fu kyene / fu na kyeɓi-aa / ti zĩ-aa / ti beɓe / ti won / a ɓe /
 ba na tuura / a boɔra / yel boyen / tikye / a tu tuuri / in dindime
 (5200) / fu wa wɔa / a nibe mine ngmeɓ / fu na de-na / a ba dema /
 ka daar kɔɔ / fu wa ngmiera / a boɔra / wa ti ngme ale iong / fu na
 ngmena / a iong fu boɔr puo / ti fu wa ngmiera / fu na puɔra / a ba
 nibere / na-a kpiin kora / fu na puor bana / puɔra ba siuwe / puɔra
 tengaame / ti ngme-a boɔr / fũ wa ti yi-a / a boɔ diom (5220) / fu
 na yire / a yɔ-a / ti tera nuɔr / k'o tengaan / ti ɓe kpe-a / fu na
 nyena / a nuɔr / k'o wa / ka boɔble / o'a soori / anu wana boɔr? /
 ka ba yel ka / dɛũdem wan / k'o ɓe soora / dɛũdem na anu? / ka ba
 yel ka / dɛũdem na toble / k'o ɓe soor ka / boonu ba buɔla ngmin? /

ka ba yel ka (5240) / ka ngmin be na / ka naangmin be be / ka booble
 soor / ka ya / ka tin tuura / a yel nye-aa / ka naangminu ti tuur /
 bii ngminu ti tuur? / ko yel ka ya / nikpēē banu / yel ka ð / ka tin
 na tuura / ka naangmin / o in nikpēē / ka ti kū nyuu-e / ti ngmina /
 na siu nibe / le na ti buolo ngmin / ka ti nibere / yela ka (5260) / ka
 naangmin bie-aa / ka olo / ka ti ma tu bii? / k'o le yel ka ð / ti ma
 tuura ulo / ka pāā ta naangmin / o'a yel lē / ka booble / le soor-aa /
 ka yel yoo anya / fu na ma in ngmin / wa bōō a zaa / wa tuō / wa
 wiil? / ka ba yel ka / bana tu-a / a boō pla / wa to diē-aa / tikye-a /
 a boō soola (5280) / a mi ngmē na le / ba ma de funa / a tīsoo / ani
 a muna / a bibie ata / ka fū i yē sob / fu na den iong / a zu puo / wa
 ti bōō ni-aa yel / k'o le soora / a boō soola / ni a boō pla / buor de
 nio? / booble ba soori / ka ba yel ka / ka boō soola / ka o lo na kpēē /
 ka ba yel ka / ka ona i-a kpēē-aa / olo nu (5300) / ka ti bōō / wa bōō a
 boō pla / boobil kyila bano / k'o yel ka / ka tikye a i ngmin / ka yi ba
 de nio / nyoo ti / a boō soola ser? / ka nikpēē yel ka ai / o ba laar / ti
 yel ka / a tin boor na i-a boor / ti ma de nio-o / a ngme-aa / a boō
 sooli / nye ser / ti pāā ire / booble / o'a le soor / ka tia i ngmini (5320) /
 ka yi ngme / ka ti ba tuō / wiil ti? / ka nikpēē / o'a le yel ka / ka fu
 ba i boō / ti ba le wiil fu? / k'o yel ka / ti fu na bōō ka / fu na wa
 nyoo ti na / a boora? / k'o yel ka ð / n bōō ka / n na nyoo yi na /
 a boor / ti o ma ina / na puo biru / ba kun tuō / a wiil fu / ti be i
 yi sere (5340) / ti ma pō zētaa / le na vē / ka n ba wiil fu / a boō
 soola yele / ti fu wa iong tieru / boor nabong / a boor yelee-aa / ia
 nia / sooro-aa / a boor yele / ka fu ba soore / fu kun tuō bōō booré /
 k'o yel ka ð / ka ya / a yin yel ka / ka ba la wiila / a nira / a boora / ka
 ti ma de-na / a wur daa (5360) / ani a tur kuba / boona vē / ka ba
 ma de ale? / o'a soori / ka ba yel ka / kaa par ben be / fu na nyāā /
 a nir-a / na kpēē-aa / a kolingwio / a yuomo ata / wa ti wa-a / on
 wa wa / o'a yel ka / ka ba nye / o zu koolu na / ba pōi / yuomo ata /
 ka tikye-aa / ka yel kō na k'o wan (5380) / a nān fere-aa / ti wiili
 yel yoo / ale na-a / ka boor yele / ka mine yire-a / tōō zu / tikye
 amine yire / kuō puo / a man puo / ka man puo-a / dem-aa / ka ba
 ma ya / a wur daa / ka ti kye a tōō-a / dem-aa / ka ba ma ya / a tur
 kuba / ka fū wa bōō / wa ti wiil nibe / a doob yuo (5400) / fun de na /
 a wur daa / ni a tuur kuba / ka fū ba i le-aa / fu na zōō na / ka fū
 ba i le-aa / fu kukor / na lieba / yin faa wō / a para / le na ya / ka ti
 yel ka / bible wa bōō / o ter / guni o miō / ka tikye-a / ka fu mi ba
 bōō / fu mi na soora / ka ba wiil fu / a boor (5420) / al wa boora /
 ba mā boō na / hani zaa / le na / ka ti yel ka / a bibiira / ba bōō-aa /

a bɔɔr yele / ni daar iɔng / ka ti faa taa / ti yi bɔɔ na / a bɔɔ pla / diẽ / ti pãã kye / a bɔɔ sɔɔla / ti nɔ guol bie / na i kakuɔr bie / olɛ nu-a / na wa i / a bɔɔ sɔɔla (5440) / tikye / ka fũ / wa yuɔra / fu na bɔɔ na / a bɔɔ pla / ti fũ wa / i didire / fu na bɔɔ na / bɔɔ kyiinu / baa yele / bɔɔbili / yaa wɔ / ti nikpẽẽ / yel ka / k'o bɔɔra / k'o ta yir / ka ti-a ngmãã na kye-aa / ka ba na wiila / ka yi wiil ku-a bibiir / o'a kuli (5460) / o sãã yiri / ti tani-a / a neni / a kyile nen / ulɔ so ala / bɔɔ sɔɔla / ba ɔɔr-ai / see bala na ter kyile / o'a tani / a nuuri / lɔb bari / a yir dundɔri / ti beɛ-a / ka wa lɔb gyele / ka tikye-a / lɛ fu na i na / o nuur ale / fu na ku-ana / a fu sãã kpime / ni a weri (5480) / ni a siuwe / tikye a nena / uɔb kye kɔbɔ / ũũ ba / ta ire / ka nuɔ / wa de vɔle / on na lieba / a bɔɔ nuɔ / a bɔɔr bom / a ba dɔɔbɔ / kuur bom zue / fu wa iɔnga / a ma sɔɔna / bɔɔ bere yɔ / bala na di / tikye dakume / baa dirai / ba ba kuli / ti yuɔri (5500) / ti dientɔɔ / ba na iɔng gbelme dãã / ana i lɛ / ka kɔ zaa ta gã ni pɔɔ / ba yeli / dayere bio / ba yel ka / ka bɔɔ ma mine / ka ba wan bɔɔbili / baa wa doni / a bɔɔbili / a gar zu puɔ / zĩ-a / ti yel ka ɔ / bɔɔbili / a diẽ / yi yina bɔɔ / ti ba yie / ba yel lɛ / ti yel ka ɔ (5520) / ti yi nye / a bɔɔr / ba na tu yi-a / yel yɔɔ na / ka ba sɔɔ bar / tikye ka yi yia diẽ / a kɛɛ-a / ni a nuura / ni boyen nuur / a ma tan kuba / ti a kɛɛ-a / yi bɔɔ na pari / a tan / per lizer na nu / ba tu yi / yi wa yi / a diẽ / kɔ zaa na zana / o lɔ wa zana / wa ti bɔɔ (5540) / a na wiɛ-oa / bala wa nyɔɔ fu / wa ziil kɔɔ zu / ti faa ter kyile / ka ba wa ya fu / tur ata / iɔng ni nɔ sɔɔla / fu na dena / ir kyile libie / tikye / fũũ na fu bɔɔ taaba / yi bɔɔ / lɛ yi na ia / ba ba dire / fufue / a bɔɔ / di fufu / a kuro na bɔɔ / a lɔɔra bɔɔ kukɔr / ale na (5560) / ka ba wiile / a diẽ / ba na lɛb a soori / a yi bibiir / a diẽ / ka ba soor / bɔɔble / ulɔ wa gani pɔɔ / k'o yel / ban na kyãã piɔ o gbelme / ti-a ter tub ba tu / ti fũ ba ye lɛ-a / ti sɔɔli bar / ti yel ka vĩ / ni daar kɔ / vĩ na kpɛ fu na / bɔɔ kyiine / yi soor bɔbɔ / baa soori / ba dɔɔri (5580) / baa kyiiri / ba lɛ soori / ba pɔɔbɔ / baa kyiiri / ka ba yel ka ɔ / yin na kyiiri-a / a diẽ / ban ba piɔ na gbelme / ba yel lɛ / ka ba yel ka ɔ / yi ira gbelme / a kukɔi iɔng / a wa bin / ba de siung kpẽẽ dãã / ba de / gbelme / baa bin / ti ba piɔ / nikpẽẽ / k'o de-a (5600) / a gbelme-a / bin sɔɔ / ti yel ka ɔ / ka kɔɔ zaa / wa tɛra / sooru-a / u soora diẽ / ka bɔɔble / ir ar-aa / ti yel ka ɔ / k'o bɔɔr k'o soor / ka ba in ngmina / bɔɔ shɔɔ anya / ti-a kũũ / kyãã kuro? / k'o yel ɔ / ka bɔɔm / a yina / a dẽũdem / ti kye a kũũ (5620) / ami yi na / a dẽũdem / ka tia bomo / fu na tɛra / bom kura nu / ulɔ nu-a / a kũũ / ulɔ dɔɔ yi / ka bɔɔr / wa tu puor / ona in ngmini / na tuɔ / a

duu / a kũũ bar? / ti yel ka ã / ka ba la bɔɔr yel miã / a bɔɔr yele /
 yel kpɛung nu / yi na nyɔɔ ona / ni nur ayi (5640) / tuur-i / ni nio /
 bele u-aa / ni nimie / ta wa bara o-ɛ / ka nibɛrɛ / baa de / a dãã / pio
 gbelme / le bina / ti pãã zĩ teung / ka pampana-nyãã / ka ba bɔɔra /
 ka ba na de-a / soora / a tin iri yi-a / a diẽ zaa / a bɔɔra / boonu ti
 wiil fu? / ka bɔɔble (5660) / wa tuã ir / wa wiil / a bɔɔr / a le bana
 i-a / ka ba na ku ona naab / ka ba yel ka / ka ba bɔɔra / ba laar / ti
 yel ka / boonu ba bɔng? / ka ba yel ka-ya / ka paalu ban na ire
 ba-aa / ka ba ira / a kyi / ka kyi i kɛɛ / ka ti yel ka / ka ba yi / yel
 bɔɔ bɛrɛ / ka ba wa / ka wa de zã bar (5680) / ka ba laar / ti yel ka
 wi / ka ba ba bãã-aa / ka in ngmini / ka fu ba bãã / a le daari / a bɔɔ
 wen / na ir fu / ka ti ter tuni-a / ti wa bɔng / a zã baru daar? /
 tikyɛ-a / a bɔɔr / tin yeli-a / tin na wiil yi na / a bɔɔ sɔɔla / ka fũ
 wa / wa nyẽ nira / na bãã bɔɔra / k'o wa wiil fu a bɔɔr (5700) / ulɔ /
 so-aa / a fu dib / ulɔ so / a fu nyuub / ti ulɔ wiil fu / wa ti baar / o na
 wiil fu na / a bɔɔ sɔɔla / ulɔ wa ti tuã / wa ti kur gbelme / fu bãã ka /
 o na tuã viire bɔng / tikyɛ / a diẽ / yi na siuna / a zɔ yuɔra / a kpɛ
 muo / fu wa nyɛ-ãã kɔri-ya / wa ku (5720) / bɔɔr bom nu / ka fũ wa ku
 sãã / bɔɔr bom nu / ka fũ wa ku wala / bɔɔr bom nu / tikyɛ-a / fũ
 wa ku duo / yir nen nu / fũ wa ku sasir / yir nen nu / fu wa ku siẽn /
 yir nen nu / ti bonu yi ter na soor? / ka ba yel ka ã / ti soori / a yin
 dã yel ka / ka yin an soora zu / a dɔɔla nyũũ / o la na ka n ba bãã-ɛ /
 ti yel ka n soor nyɛ (5740) / ka ba yel ka ã / ka ba i soor-oɛ / ka kãã
 le soor / ka ti kye-a / ka nir / a sãã-a bɔɔra / ka tuã yele / ka ti yi
 vla / a bɔɔr puɔ / ka yel kã ben be / na la yi-o? / ka ba yel ka ã / ka
 yel kã ben be / ka fu na zããna / ka fu ba zããɛ / ka fu na ngman kuɔn /
 ka fũ / ba yele / fu na in nisaal kãã / ka fu ba yele (5760) / fu na
 gbɛra / ba ba yeli / ka ni boyen-na / yel ka ã / pɔɔ ba nu / yel ka o
 sããn daba / o'a yeli / baa wõ / ti i gbili / ti soori / a bɔɔbili / ka anu
 ter ieru? / ba yel ka / ka ba bɔɔra ka ba soor / ka fũ-a / a i bɔɔ / ti wa
 kyena / a bɔɔr zie / ka fu nikpɛẽ / ba ka be (5780) / ti a fu yõõ / wa
 zie a bɔɔr / ka ba wan bondiri / wa kub / fu na din bii? / ka ba yel
 ka ã / ka fu na dina / ko le soora / ka tikyɛ fũ / kyena bɔɔra / ka fu
 yir / nikpɛẽ / ba ka be / ti ba ko fu nuɔr / ka fu na in ngmin? / ka ba
 yel ka ã / fu na / dena nuɔr-aa / a tu ta sãã / a puora bɔɔbɔ (5800) /
 puora kpime / ti puora tengaan / ti fũ wa i Kpiele bie / wa nyɛ Kpiele
 nir / a bɔɔr zie / fu yebe nu / fũ wa i Kusiele bie / wa nyɛ Kusiele nir /
 a bɔɔr zie / fu yebe nu / fu wa i Bekuɔne / wa nyɛ Bekuɔne bie / a bɔɔr
 zie / fu yebe nu / fu wa i Yɔngyuɔle / wa nyɛ Yɔngyuɔle bie / a bɔɔr
 zie / fu yebe nu / fu ba la zɔr / dãbie (5820) / a bɔɔr puɔi / fu na

ngmiera / a bɔɔr / kaa wa baar / ti fu kul / ka kɔ̃ɔ̃ lɛ soora / ka fũ wa
 yi a bɔɔr / wa ta yir / wa kpi / ka bɔɔra ku fu bii? / ka ba yel ka ɔ̃ /
 ka ba bɔɔra / ka baa yel ku yi / ka fũ ba yi / yuomo atai / ti wa
 kpi-a / ka bɔɔr yel ben be / baa yeli / baa yel baar / ti yel ka ɔ̃ (5840) /
 ka yaa wɔ̃? / ka kɔ̃ lɛ soor / ka tikye fũ wa yi / a bɔɔr / wa ta yir / ka
 fũ na fu pɔɔ wa zɛb taa / ka ba na lɛ de ma na bɔɔr yab-bii? / ka ba
 yel ka / ka ba kun tuɔ̃ lɛ de-i / ba yeli / fa wɔ̃ / ka kɔ̃ɔ̃ lɛ soor / ka fu
 yi a bɔɔr / ta yir / ka fu bie / wa kpi-a / ka bɔɔr yel na ku bii? / ka
 ba yel ka ɔ̃ ɔ̃ / ka al ba nai / ka kɔ̃ɔ̃ lɛ soor (5860) / ka fu yi a bɔɔr / kul
 ti ta a yir / ka fu pɔɔ yi / ti kul nir / k'o na sɔɔna de? / ka ba yel ka ɔ̃ /
 k'o na dena / o lɛ soor / ka o lɛ yi a bɔɔra diɛ / ti nye nir pɔɔ / k'o bɔɔr
 u-aa / k'o na dena bii? / ka ba yel ka ɔ̃ / k'o na tuɔ̃ de / ka kɔ̃ɔ̃ lɛ ira /
 ti lɛ soora / ka o lɛ kul / ti nye o bom / o na bina / ti ire-a bɔɔr (5880) /
 k'o wa kul ti bɔ̃ gu / a bɔɔ wen de bii? / ka ba yel / ka fũ wa kula / ti
 bɔ̃ fu bom gu / k'o bɔra / fũ wa yel ka / ka bɔɔ wen ben be / o na
 kuna / fu yirdem / al wa ia fu yirdem na / a na ku bana / al wa ia muɔ
 puɔ nibɛ na / a na ku bana / tikye / fũ-a / wa i gbili / a bɔɔ wen na
 tuna a sob / ka kɔ̃ɔ̃ lɛ soora / ti ma ni nir ba dɔ̃ɔ̃ nɔɔ taa-i (5900) /
 ti n wa kula / k'o wa tɛra bom / wa kuma / n na den di bii? / ka ba
 yel ka ɔ̃ / ka fu na de na / ka kɔ̃ɔ̃-a / lɛ soora / ka olɔ kul / ti nye o
 sen / on dɔ̃ɔ̃ tɛra / ka nir wa de / n na zɛbi na o sob bii? / ka ba yel
 ka ɔ̃ ɔ̃ / fu kun tuɔ̃ zɛbi-a sobe / ka ba lɛ yel ka / ka ba bɔɔra / ka ba
 yel ku yi-a / a sooru-aa / ba na yel ka (5920) / nir wa tɛra / k'o sooro /
 ka ba i / bom zaa sooru-ɛɛ / ba bɔɔra / ka fũ wa sooro / fu soora bɔɔr
 ye / ka kɔ̃ɔ̃ lɛ soor / ka-a / a bɔɔ biɔr / a ni kɛɛ ngmier / ka a buor ma
 de nio? / ka ba yel ka ɔ̃ ɔ̃ / ka sooru na lɛɛ? / ti ba yel ka bɔɔ biɔr /
 olɔ nu ma de nio / ka kɔ̃ɔ̃ lɛ soor / ka-a / a bɔɔ wuor / a ni biɛũ (5940) /
 ka a buor ma de nio / ka be yel ka / ka o'a ma wɔ̃ / ban ma yel ka a
 wuora? / ka wuor / o ina / bom na i paalu-aa / ka ulɔ nu ma de nio /
 ka kɔ̃ lɛ soor / ka nibɛrɛ / ka ba i o gafura / ti yel ka / ka tikye-a / on
 i a bɔɔble / ka o pɔɔ wa ngma siɛ / ka ba wa kyir kuɔ̃ iɔng / ka
 boona / alɛ? / ka ba yel ka ɔ̃ / ka tengkuri sor kɔ̃ɔ̃ naa lɛ (5960) / ka ba
 ma tu / ka ba ba bɔɔr / ka ba iɛrɛ / kaa wa lo / a pɔɔble / toore / ka a
 la na so / a kuɔ̃ / ban ma kyir iɔng baa / ka kɔ̃ɔ̃ lɛ soor / ka fu wa
 kyen / nir bɔɔr / wa ti nye-a / nikpɛɛ / k'o be a bɔɔr yir / ti a da
 nyɔ̃ɔ̃ / wa ngmiera bɔɔr / ka fu wa nye k'o bal / ngmin fu na i? / ka
 ba yel ka ɔ̃ (5980) / ka fũ wa nye / a nikpɛɛ / k'o wa baala / fu kun
 tuɔ̃ de / a o nuɔrɛ / fu na vɛna / ulɔ wa bɔng k'o baala / o na buɔla
 nir kɔ̃ɔ̃ yuor / k'o ir de-o / ka kɔ̃ lɛ soor / ka tikye-a / fũ i bible / ti
 i bɔɔ / ti nikpɛɛ / i da nyɔ̃ɔ̃ / ti wa bier i bɔɔ / ka yi zãã lɔng kyen bɔɔr/

ka bondiri wa wa / anu na di kye ko a to? / ka ba yel ka ã (6000) / a
fũ na i bible / ti de nio ia bɔɔra / fũ nio k'o tuur / ka kãã le soor /
a kɔntɔmɔ / ni a ngmin / an wan bɔɔr? / ka nikpɛɛ yel ka ã / ka
ngmin ir bana-ya / bin teung zu / ka ba zĩ zɔɔla le / tikye / ka to ble /
ka ni to kpɛɛ / wa ti zĩ ba zima zie / ka to ble / wa ir zɔ bɔr / ka ba
yel ka ole bãã ti ire / ti wa wa / wa wiil ti (6020) / o yel anya / a
ngmin ir ti / ti ba le ku ti bom zaa / ka a bondiri kã wa kpe ti / ti ma
nyãã na ti di / tikye-a / a to ble / olɔ nu-a / a wani-a / a yel anya / wa
wiil ti / ala na / ka ti ma yel ka / a dɛungdem / yele na / o'a yel le / on
yel wa baara / ka ti yel ka ã / ka ngmin / bɔɔn bɔɔr yel bii? (6040) /
ba soori / k'o yel ka ã / ka ngmin / ka ir ti / ka tin yel / ti yele-a / k'o
ma wõ-a na / ka ti bom zaa tin ira / o nyere-a na / ka tikye-a / on ir
ti-a / o lo bãã a ti zĩma / ka ngmina / yel ka / k'o na wa na / ka nir
zaa nye / ka ti bonu vɛ / ka ulɔ wa ka / k'o kun tuã tõ tome-i / ka
nisaal nir (6060) / na wa kpiura / o ma yel ka / ka i ngmin k'o kuro
o nir? / ka kãã nir kpi / on na wan / wa yel ka n siung k'o / ka kãã
bier / ban wa yel ka / k'o ira baalu bar / ka kãã-a / nir ngme-oa / on
wa yele ka / k'o ku a sob / le na / ka ngmin / ba bɔɔr ka / ti ta nyuue /
o piel tina / ti zãã ti / ale na (6080) / k'o yel ka ã / k'o na bara nir / k'o
wa / o na tuã ti zaa kpɛũ / a tengkuridem-a / yela-a / ka nir nya yele /
ka ti bããn gure / a dɛungdem / ba na yel ko-a / a tengkuridem / ba
wõ / ti biir / ti ba nyãã / fũ i bɔɔ-a / a tenkuri yele / fu ma wõn / fu
ma bɔɔn / ti fu ba i bɔɔ-a / ti saa tɛra yɛ (6100) / fu kun tuã / bã a
yele / a zaai / ba yeli / bɔɔbili / ba wõ / yi na wõ-a / a bɔɔ yele-a / ti
baari-a / tikye boonu / a ngmin yele / na kye-a / ka bɔɔ sɔɔli / wa
ta-ya / a le puɔ-na / ka ba na yele / a yele / k'o yi-a / yina wõ? / a
bɔɔra (6120) / o yɛ na nya / ti ia bɔɔr nyeb / ti ia bɔɔr wõm / ti ia
bɔɔr dib / on na dia / olɔ nu-a / ka ti yel-aa / ti wa kye a pari / ka ti
wa yel ka / noguol bie / kakuɔr bie / bobɔ / yi kpo a gan

BOOR SOOLA (NGMINTI)

ngmin-ti / bɔbɔ ngmin / ka ba ngmini / ngmin ka wa / ngmin
 nyɔtuɔn / ngmin sɔr goba / ngmin par pla / ngmin naayuo / ngmin
 gagara / ngmin biila / o na biil anya / zɔɔ kpɛɛ puo / tɔ ni ble / faa
 nyɛ ble / iɔng tier-ua / duur ka yi / a zɔɔ kpɛɛ nuɔr / iɔng na de sor /
 ti le nyɛ bom / bom bono? (20) / ka base nu / lan dakyin / k'o iɔng
 na puor / k'o puor baalu / on puor wa baara / ti paa nyɛ soor / mɔl
 mɔl iɔng / o'a de sori / o'a duuri ta / man nuɔr iɔng / o'a nyɛ bomo /
 ar kpɛɛ / lɔ ni ble / k'o puor baalu / on puor wa baara / ti nyɛ
 gyimuda / ku mi puoro / o puor wa baara / o'a nyɛ niri? / ni
 booni? (40) / a man nir nu / k'o yer o loolee / o'a nyɛ pɔɔ / k'o se
 vaari / o'a iɔng na puori / puor baalo / ba wiili bomo / ka bon
 bocno? / faa nyɛ kuur / k'o na wiili / on wiil wa baara / ti wiil aro /
 k'o iɔng na kpe / on kpe wa baara / ar kpɛɛ na-aa / k'o iɔng na
 ngmaa-a / ka dɛbie iɔng / le kpe-o / on in ngmin? / k'o le zel sor-aa
 (60) / o'a wiil sori / wiil ngmi ngmin? / o'a de daa / iɔng na lɔb o / o'a
 de daa / ti duur lɔb ku / k'o de dale / k'o wiil oa / a duuru / k'o iɔng na
 ngmaa / o'a ngmaa aro / o'a nyɛ sori / iɔng na gɔɔ / o'a ta be / on ta
 wa baara / k'o lieb guble / o'a tɔ wuo / o'a ir miuri / on ir wa baara /
 ti le nyɛ bom (80) / o'a nyɛ leri / le dɔɔl o bɔɔ / o'a de ulɔ / o'a nyɛ
 vaar / tile mhuɔl / k'o kye olɔ / o'a kye wa baari / a man nuɔr iɔng /
 o'a iɔng na kpa / on kpa wa baara / ti wa nyɛ bomo / a man nuɔr
 iɔng / bom bono? / kpan kyɔɔra? / on wa puora / kan puor baalo /
 on puor wa bara / ti iɔng na yi / o'a nyɔɔ pure / k'o tɔɔ baalu (100) /
 ti dur na yi / o'a nyɛ bomo / gyimuda / k'o puor baalu / a man nuɔr
 iɔng / ni kpɛɛ ba no / iɔng tɔɔla / faa nyɛ bari / ka nyɛ niri / iɔng na
 dũ / ni kpɛɛ naa / o'a kyɔr bari / ka bari bar kpib / faa nyɛ ble / ko
 iɔng na puori / puor baalu / ka nikpɛɛ wa de soobo / on soor baara /
 ti le soor ma / ka bon kan boor? (120) / kan le yelu-a / ka naangmin
 yelo / iɔng n feru / nikpɛɛ na-a / le yel ka / ka na in ngmin / a
 naangmin yele-a / na wa uro / n in ngmin? / ka le iɔng na yi / n ba
 nyɛ bomo / tuu zong puo / ka nyɛ kontɔmbie / iɔng na zɔ / ba iɔng
 na buɔl / ba na buɔl ma / ba buɔl na baara / ti le soor ma / bonu kã
 boor? / kan le yel ba (140) / naangmin yelua / iɔng n feru / o'a fera
 ma / ma ni kpɛɛ nu / o'a nyɔɔ ma / ti iɔng ma sori / kan wa kpe
 muo / bi yɔɔ iɔng / ka n dur wa ta / ba na tuɔ maa / ka wa kpe ka-a /

on yel wa baara / ka kontombiira / leb nyoo bie / ba ba nyoo baalu / ti
 iong na ziil / ba ziil wa baara / ba de kyi / ti le wiil-uwa / fu bõõ
 una? (160) / ã ã ye / ka ba le yelu-a / ka bondiri na / faa nye
 kontombie / k'o iong na uobu? / on uob wa baara / ka iong na i nu
 iong / faa nye do / k'o tõi ala / iong na uobu / o'a iong o nuori / o'a
 nyoo uobu? / faa nye nu / k'o yel ka le na ka / on yel le iong / on yel
 wa bara / kontombie-a / le yelua / ko le bar ka / ka ba wan zõ (180) /
 baa wa tani / iong na soori / boon anya? / a tempelo bii? / k'o yel
 ka / zi nyele / o'a zĩ be / kontombie-a / o'a de kuõ / o'a kyir iong zõ /
 ka iong na bu / on bu wa baara / o'a ir nu / ti iong na len / ko len ka
 yurru / ka kontombie-a / le yelua / ko uob nya / o'a iong na uobu /
 on uob wa baara (200) / ti yel ka / le na ka / o yel ka ya / k'o ba bong
 kyi-e / o yel ayi / ka ba yel ka / bonu ir kyi? / ka ba yel ka ya / ngmin
 ir kyi / k'o yel wa baar / ka fun in ngmina / o'a de kuur / o'a de ulo /
 ti le de bom / bun bonu? / o ina kuura / o'a ngmer kuuri / o'a nye
 yẽ / o'a de ulo / ti iong na kyeni (220) / o'a le kyeni / wa tan yiri / ti
 ta be-ya / ti wiil do / faa nye ya? / on wiil wa bara / o in ngmin? /
 o'a yel ka / iong gyiru / k'o iong na kaari / o'a de kuuri / o'a de
 dãangmara / o'a de ala / o'a too long ta / o'a de yene / o kur ye / ti
 dool be / a nyaa mine / wa wa iong / o'a iong vũũ (240) / bonu ir
 vũũ? / o'a de kusibe / kusi pla ba na / ni o ble / faa nye goni? / o'a
 de iong sãõ / o'a de kpẽẽ / iong o numi / o'a ngme ta / on ngme ta
 ya / faa nye vũũ / ka nyoo goni / ka to ble nya / ko iong dãbie / bom
 boonu / k'o iong na kaar / o'a de vũũ / nye muo baalu / o'a nyoo
 vũũ / o'a de olo (260) / a dãangma bere / o'a iong be / faa nye bomo /
 k'o me bin / o bin wa baara / ti de kur vuor / wa bin o puor / on bin
 wa baara / ti wa de tene / o'a iong kuõ / on iong wa baara / ti wa de
 kuur / on de wa baara / ti iong na bu / on bu wa baara / on in
 ngmin? / o'a fob kuri / on fob poo baara / ti ba de tene / ti iong na
 me (280) / o me wa baara / o'a me iong suuli / on me wa baara / o'a
 de gani / on de wa baara / ka ti iong na ir / on ir wa baara / ti lieb
 guble / o'a tõi bon puo / o'a iro miuri / ka ti iong na lõ / on lõ wa
 baara / on in ngmin ngmini? / o'a buol o bie / k'o zo wa ta / k'o wa zĩ
 ka / ka ti na tõi tomo / o'a zĩ be / ti bele kpib / o'a yel ko bie (300) /
 k'o fuur k'o nye / ko fuur ka fæ / ko le yel ko bie / ko iong gankye /
 on iong wa baara / faa nye kuri / ka kur ba muõ / o'a ir ulo / o'a de
 zer / ti iong na to / o to wa baara / to bõ gu / on in ngmini? / ka
 kontomble-a / k'o le yel ua / k'o le iong / on le iong nea / on iong wa
 baara / ko le iong gankye / ka kur ba muone (320) / on muo wa
 baara / wa iong na to / wa to wa baari / o'n in ngmini? / naangmin

yele / na wa uro-a / on in ngmin? / o'a tɔ k'o mhuoli / on in
 ngmini? / o'a ir o zeri / iɔng na bini / on bin wa baara / ti ba ir nu /
 ba nyɔɔ a kuri / ka kɔntɔmble / iɔng tiero-aa / ka lɛ yelua / k'o nye
 bom / bon boonu? / kur daalee (340) / k'o de ulɔ-aa / ka tɔ guɔl / on
 tɔ guɔl baara / ka kɔntɔmble-a / lɛ wa wiilo / a nyɔɔb-aa / o'a nyɔni /
 a kuri / o'a nyɔɔ wa baara / ko yelua / ko de a zɛr / on de wa baara /
 ko lɛ yel kaa / ko shɔɔ k'o nyãã / o'a shɔɔ wa baari / ko iɔng na tɔ / o'a
 tɔ baalu / on tɔ wa baara / faa nye bie / o'a yel ulɔ (360) / k'o de kur
 piɔ / on de wa baara / wa iɔng o yuori / iɔng o kuri / ka kyiira no / ko
 kyi ko nyãã / o'a kyi wa baari / on kyi baal-ua / o'a kyi wa baara / o'a
 de o zeri / ti iɔng na ngme / ngme guɔl iɔng / o'a guɔl wa baara / ka
 sã goba / wa la murɔ / ka tɔ ble / o'a zĩ baalu / ti iɔng gyiro / on
 gyire-a / ka yel ka lɛ na ka (380) / ka a tɔ kpɛɛ / ka nyera wuuri / o'a
 ira kuuri / o'a iɔng kukuri / o'a ngme kpa iɔng / o'a kpa wa baari /
 lɛ wiil tɔ ble / k'o de kaa nyaa / o'a de ulɔ / naangmin yele / na wa
 uro-a / on in ngmini? / kɔntɔmble-a / lɛ yelua / k'o ir gago / on ir
 gago / ko lɛ wiilu / a kuur nyɔɔb / o'a nyɔɔ a kuuri / o'a nyɔɔ
 baalua (400) / o'a lɛ wiilu / k'o gũni / o'a gũ wa baar / k'o lɛ yel ka /
 k'o ngmaa a teung / naangmin yele / n ba bõɔ-ɛ / tɔ ble-a / na yel
 kua / kɔntɔmble / o'a de kuuri / o'a ngmaa a teung / ngmaa puo
 iɔng / o'a ngmaa wa baari / a teung tɛnɛ / k'o tɔɔ lɔ taa / o'a ira kyi /
 o'a iɔng na buri / o buri wa baara / sambar ata (420) / faa nye
 ngminbie / o'a ta be / ti iɔng na la / on la wa baara / kɔntɔmble / lɛ
 soor ka ya / ka bono so lar / k'o yel ka yaa / naangmin yele / ka alo
 so laari / ka tɔ ble / o'a iɔng tiero / o'a zĩ kpibo / o'a nyɛo yeng / na
 yel ka yaa / ko na puora / k'o sããkum kora / ka lɔng ni siuwe / ka
 lɔng ni kpime / ka lɔng tengaama (440) / ka yel nya iɔng / o'a haa o
 nɛ / ti iɔng na ir / on ir wa bar / lɛ yel ka ya / o'a puor tengaani / ti
 puor a ngmin / ti puor kpime / ti puor siuwe / ti puor kɔntɔme / o
 puor wa baari / o'a nye bomo / dindamno / teung ni saa / a saa i
 daba / ti teung i pɔɔ / zie ba mhani / faa nye saa / o'a iɔng yolee /
 o'a puor lɔro (460) / faa nye teung / pɔɔsar kpɛɛ / o'a nye puɔ / tilee
 wule / o'a wa yi / teung bie bano / ko ti doo / nikpɛɛ banu / o'a la
 murɔ / on la wa bar / ka tɔ ble / lɛ wa ta / lɛ yelua / ko na in ngmin? /
 naangmin yela / na wa uro-a / k'o lɛ yel kayaa / ka tilee wule / k'o na
 nyɔɔ na / ka dur ti do (480) / ka naangmin yir / o na nyɔɔ tie / do bõ
 gu / lɛb lo kpai / ka selngminder / ka iɔng o gbɛɛ / iɔng kye kye / wa
 yel ka / ka nikpɛɛ / ko lɛ zĩ teung / k'o zĩ bar sɛr / o'a zĩ baalu /
 selngminder / k'o ir biuri / iɔng o sie / ti yel ka / ka nikpɛɛ / k'o
 nyɔɔ miuur / k'o nyɔɔ wa bar / k'o lɛ yel ka (500) / naangmin yiri /

ti na dona / o'a iong na do / a naangmin yir / nikpěẽ-noa / na gan
 be / ba'a nyũ / naa gan puo / ba'a ta be / iong na puori / zani
 yaani / faa nye baa / ba song bano / long ni luora / long ni gbeung /
 long ni wob / long ni waala / long ni ien / gbater ble / ba'a nye
 ien (520) / nikpěẽ banu / na nar o naru / wa yel ka / ka nikpěẽ-na /
 k'o wa ka / k'o wa ta / o'a de teni / too long taa / on long wa baara / ti
 le yel ka / ti buol poble / pobil mhola / k'o wa ka / o ba wa taa / on
 na wa baara / k'o le yel ka / k'o de yuor-aa / o'a de olo / ir ari / k'o le
 yelua (540) / k'o nye saalue / k'o de wani / o'a ir beini / iong o nuori /
 ti dun k'o ngmeri / o'a puur iong / iong o yuori / on iong wa baara /
 faa nye daba? / nikpěẽ ba nu / k'o le yel-ua / ko maala tene / on maal
 wa baara / pobil mhola / o'a le yel-u / k'o kyir a saalu / iong a tene /
 on yel wa baara / k'o le yel daba / k'o ir goba (560) / tō a tene puo / on
 tō wa baara / k'o le yel ka / k'o ir nu / o'a ir nu / o na in ngmini? /
 o'a yel o / k'o le wa ka / o'a le wa ta / nanyu daa / long ni pōo / kaa
 iong na iri / nikpěẽ banu / o'a kyuur ala / kaa baar zom / ka naazuo
 daa / long ni pōo / wa ta be / nye iong ni / ka dayere bio (580) / ka
 nanyu daa / ni o pōo / duur ta be / wa kya lo / faa nye bie / ko kon
 be zom? / n pã in ngmin? / naangmin yele / na wa uro-a / ko le yel
 ka / ku o pōo / ka ba duri ti ta / naangmin yiri / ka naangmin na / ko
 le yel ya / ka nikpěẽ-na / an so bie / faa nye bie / na ngme taa ni /
 a nikpěẽ-na (600) / k'o la mure / o la wa baara / ti le yel ka / ka bom
 boonu? / ka ba yel kaya / ka bie banu / an so a bie? / ka nikpěẽ-na /
 le yel ka / ka fũ so bie / nyine ka n pōo? / k'o le yel ka / ka fu dōo
 bie / ka toble-a / le yel ka / in ngmin dōo? / ka nikpěẽ-na / o'a la
 baalu / on la wa baara / ti le yel ka (620) / ka n na in ngmin? / faa
 nye pōo / pobil mhola / k'o duur wa yi / k'o le yel ka / ka alai le / ma
 so bie / ka nikpěẽ-na / le soor-oa / nyine fu pōo? / pobil mhola / o'a
 iong tieru / ti le yel ka / n saalo kuō / n kyir iong / a tene puo / al puo
 bana / ka fu ir bie / ka nikpěẽ-na / le yel ka (640) / ka pobil mhola /
 ko duur wa ka / o'a wa ta be / nikpěẽ nio / nikpěẽ na-a / buol o pōo /
 pōo nyōō bie / o'a wa yi / nar o naru / bono naru? / o'a kar o vaari /
 kar wa baari / ti le yel ka / ka pobil mhola / ka ta ira le / k'o de
 bie / o'a de wa baar / on in ngmin? / o'a iong na pio / on pio wa
 baara (660) / ti iong na kyeni / o'a de sori / pōo nyōō bie / o'a le
 yel-ua / k'o kyier shoor / ko ba bong ka / zii be na / a o puori / poble
 mhola / o'a iong na la / ti le soor ka / ka bono zii? / k'o le yel ka / vē
 ka ti ta yir / ba'a ta be / ba iong na zi / ba'a zi wa baari / pōo nyōō
 bie / o'a bong o bomo / ti le yel ka (680) / ka pōoyaa-ble / k'o de a
 siung / ka dōo vũ zu / o'a de ba dōol / o'a iong kuō / pōo nyōō bie-a /

o'a de o vaari / o'a nyoo kari / on ka wa bar / iong siung puo / gboo
vũũ iong / ban iong wa baara / on in ngmin? / vũũ ba nyoo / ba de
vaari / ba nyoo liebo / lieb wa baari / ka ba tuli be / poo nyõõ bie-a /
duur koo yi (700) / buol poodle mhola / k'o gaal bie / on gaal bie-a / ti
duur wa ta / poo nyõõ bie-a / o'a pur kuõ / a vaar puo / ti de gõn / o'a
tõ be / o'a duur wa tani / poodle mhola / o pen iong / o'a nẽ be / poodle
mhola / o'a nye bomo / poo nyõõ bie / ni a yel miõng iong / faa nye
ziĩ / ka yi be / poodle mhola (720) / dãbie iong / na kpẽ-o / o'a yel ka /
nyine na / ka ziĩ yi be / n puori? / poo nyõõ bie / le yel-ua / ka bie
nya / nyine fu poo / k'o le yel-ua / tene puo na / ka ti ga ir / faa nye
bie / le yel ka / fu puomi na / kan ira bie / fũ ni ano / ga ti ir? / k'o
le yel ka (740) / ma ni nira nikpẽẽ kong / o yuor-ua / ka to ble / tin
na ba / ka nikpẽẽ-yaa / na o tõ ti / ni yel ble kong / ti naangmin nu-a /
na nar o naru / ka ti ong ti tene / ti le yel ti-a / ka ti ong ti saalu / ka
ti ong wa tani / o'a de a saalu / o'a dũ k'o ngmeri / o'a puur iong
yuori / ti ong kuõ iong / ka ti kyir iong tene / ka nanyu daa / o'a nye
ti ari (760) / ti iong na ir / ka ti nikpẽẽ-yaa / o'a kyuuri o baari / o'a
bar zomi / ti le kyuuri / k'o lo be gbili / on lo wa baara / k'o le yel
ka / ka ti kyir nyoo taa / tin kyir wa baar / taa lieb na kyeni / naazu
daa / ni o poo / kyil ba kyilu / baa ta a be / ti iong na diẽ / ban diẽ
wa baara / ka nanyu daa / o'a mi ta be / o le kyaa lób (780) / o kyaa
wa baar / ti nye a bie / ka nikpẽẽ-na / k'o tẽr zini / kan wa ta be / ti
gyir nye nir / k'o to ble / n ba puoru-a / ti nye bie / kã iong tieru /
ti iong na dieni / ti yel ka bie-a / maa so uló / poo nyõõ bie / n de na
bie / n de wani / ka fu le yel ma / ka n i ngmin / kan kar vaari / n kar
wa baar (800) / ti iong na kyen / ka fu le yel ka / ka n kyier shoo-taa /
ka n ba bong ka / ka ziĩ be na / n puori puo / yel miõng naa / fu yel
kum / pampana nyãã / n nye ziĩ / maa so bie / bii to ble / poo nyõõ
bie / le yel ka / ko bar ser / o'a bar seri / ka puo bhãã / on in ngmin? /
a naangmin ye / na wa uro-a (820) / daar kong iong / faa nye to
ble / wa kyen toli / o ba yiri / a le daar / ti bie na / mi kyiera / ka to
ble-a / le wa iong / ba lieb wa toli / bie ba nye / a to ble / ti iong na
kõ / k'o de-o / bi ma na / k'o yel ka / an so bie? / bi ma na / ko yel
ka / ma so bie (840) / ka to ble / mi yel ka / ma so bie / a bi bein
iong / poo nyõõ bie / duur wa ta / ba iong ba na ire gõ na / ka poo
nyõõ bie / on duur wa nye le-a / le yel ka / ka ba baar gõmo / ban bar
wa baar / o'a soor poble / poble mholu / an so bie / ma so bie / ti to
ble / boor na faa / ko le soor to ble / boono so? (860) / ko mi yel ka /
ma so bie / poo nyõõ bie / o'a la kpai / ti le yel ka / bi bein iong / ka
nib ayi / zoori taa / yi vẽ sera / ka n le kyena / na gan puo / nikpẽẽ

banu / o'a gã be / ba iɔng na ta / pɔɔ nyõõ bie / wa iɔng na puori /
 zaani yaani / nikpẽẽ-na / o'a de yaani / on de wa baara (880) / ti
 iɔng na soor / dãbie iɔng? / ai a-yi / dãbie bana-i / a bii nya yele / ka
 ti wani / a fu zie / ka nikpẽẽ-na / ko le yel ka / ka ti bar baalu / o'a
 iɔng na soori / pɔɔle mhɔla / bono so zɔɔro? / ko le yel ka / ma so
 bie / ka tɔ ble / bɔɔr faa / al so gõmɔ / wa la ma kpai / o la wa
 baari (900) / ti iɔng na soor / ka tɔ ble / bono so zɔɔro / ka tɔ ble / ko
 mi yel ka / ma so bie / pɔɔle mhɔla / bɔɔr na faa / al so gõmɔ / ka
 nikpẽẽ-na / la na kpai / ti yel ka ya / pɔɔle mhɔla / nyine fu pɔɔ bie /
 ka pɔɔle mhɔla / le yel ka / ka ka kan de / ko le soora / a tɔ ble / nyine
 fu pɔɔ bie (920) / ko yel ka / sor puɔ kan de / ko le yel ka / ka ba bar
 ser / ba bar ba kpibo / ban bar wa baara / k'o iɔng na soor / pɔɔle
 mhɔla / nyine fu pɔɔ bie / a in ngmini / ka fu so bie / o'a le soori /
 pɔɔle mhɔla / ko le yel ka / maa so bie / o le soor ka / nyine fu pɔɔ? /
 ko yel ka / o le de saalu / ka fu de ulɔ (940) / dun ngmer iɔng / a yuɔr
 puɔ / kan a kyir iɔng / tɛnɛ puɔ / k'o lieb bie / anu so tɛnɛ? / pɔɔle
 mhɔla / o'a bar ba zom / on in ngmin? / k'o le soor bie / an so fu? /
 bie ba nu / o ba la mure / ti le yel ka / n sãã nu / a tɔ ble / a in
 ngmin / o'a soor o / ka fu bɔng ka / fu sãã nu (960) / a tɔ ble / faa
 nye bie / k'o la zom / ti iɔng na zɔ / o'a le zɔ ti kyeɲi / o'a nyɔɔ
 dabo / gbɛr kpẽẽ iɔng / tɔ ble banu / o'a la mure / nikpẽẽ-na / ko le
 soor tɔ ble / an so bie? / k'o mi yel ka / maa so bie / an in ngmin / ka
 fu bɔng ka / fu so a bie? / k'o yel ka / maa no / selngmindera (980) /
 n yebe nu / iɔng o gbɛɛ / iɔng kyekye / zie ba mhãã / nikpẽẽ banu /
 dindamno / ba teung ni sãã / o'a pur lor o / o'a iɔng teung / puɔ ba
 kpɛ / o'a dɔɔ bie / bie da bhol / yel yɔɔ-bana / iɔng n feru / n in
 ngmini / a teung zu ka? / n ba bõ gu / ba iɔng tieru / n ba yel ka /
 n na do na (1000) / naangmin yiri / n ba ti nyɔɔ / teung bie banu / tile
 mhɔla / ti iɔng na do / do bɔng gu / ti lieb lo kpai / selngminder
 banu / n yebe nu / iɔng o gbɛɛ / iɔng kyekye / o'a ir miuri / iɔng o
 siẽ / ti le yel ka / ka n nyɔɔ miuri / n ba nyɔɔ miuri / ti iɔng na do /
 o'a de ma / wa ti tani / naangmin yiri (1020) / nikpẽẽ banu / naa gan
 puɔ / k'o iɔng na puori / zaami yaani / o'a de yaani / on de wa
 baara / ti le soor ma / bonu kan bɔɔr / ka n le yel ka / bõ zaakpo /
 ul ka n bɔɔr / o'a wiil ma / kontɔmbie / n ba nye ulɔ / o'a wiil wa
 baara / naangmin iri / nikpẽẽ banu / naa gan puɔ / ul soor ma / a yel
 yɔɔ yele (1040) / n ba yel u / n yel wa baara / k'o yel ka / ka n ar
 ka / ka n iɔng na kɔ / n kɔ wa baara / tenbil puri / ka tɔ lɔng taa / k'o
 bɔng o bomo / ti buɔl pɔɔble / pɔɔle mhɔla / o'a yin o yuori / on yi
 wa tani-a / nikpẽẽ banu / o'a de saalu / o'a dun ngmeri / puur iɔng

yuori / o'a iong kuḍ-mi / ti iong n tene / on iong wa baara (1060) / ti
 ba iong na kyeni / naazu daa [ni o pɔɔ] / baa ta be / ba diē ba
 dienu / ba diē wa baara / ti iong na kyeni / nanyu daa / mi nu o pɔɔ /
 baa wa ta / ba kyaa lɔbi / baa ir bie / n tene puo / le na vē / ka n bō
 ka / ma so bie / nikpēē banu / le la kpai / ti bɔng o bɔɔm / o'a de
 muri / o'a puo vuori (1080) / wa ku daba / o'a de kōḍ / wa ku pɔɔ /
 ti puora vuori / on tir baara / o'a yel ka / ka ba nyen bom / lalē
 pure / fu pɔɔ ba ioo / fu yel ka / fū so bie / o'a de sɔɔ / ma so bie / o
 le soor daba / tɔ ble banu / an so bie? / k'o mi yel ka / ka olē so bie /
 k'o yel ka / ka pɔɔle mhola (1100) / k'o iong duuru / a mur puo / ta
 wa vē / ka jaar-εε / o'a iong na duuri / ka a jaar-εε / an jaar wa
 baar / k'o le yel daba / k'o iong duuru / a mur puo / k'o ta wa vē /
 kaa jaar-εε / dab iong duuri / ka zāā kpe / ma kpe wa baara / k'o le
 yel ka / pɔɔle mhola / fu de yuor / fu na wani-a / faa nye niri (1120) /
 long ni kuuri / kuur bini teni / ma so saalu / nar o naro / kyir ala
 iong / tɔ ble banu / iong na bu / on bu wa baara / ya kyen be / yi
 kyen wa baara / ti naazu daa / ni puo / mi ta be / ba diē wa baara /
 nanyu daa / ni o pɔɔ / ba ta be / ba kyaalo / ba ir bie / nokpen
 banu (1140) / yin ngme iong taa / a ngme iong taa / daba ba ioo / yi
 o teung / yel fero / o'a feru / ko duur wa ta / a naangmin zie / a
 nikpēē-naa / n ba song-u / ko nye bie / bie nya ulɔ / ulɔ so o / ba da
 bie / ku tɔ ble / ku duur wa tani / a tengaan zu / on in ngmin? / o'a
 wa tani / o sāā yir puo (1160) / on in ngmini? / yel yɔɔ bana / iong
 na feru / o'a de bie / wiila siuwe / wiila ngmini / ti wiila tengaani /
 ti wiila kpime / on wiil wa baara / faa nye bie / zie ba mhaani / teung
 ni saa / baa bɔng ba bɔɔm / wa pur na mhɔro / zie be mhāā / wa de
 o kuuri / iong na yina / o kɔb iong na / on in ngmini? / tɔ ble
 banu (1180) / duuri wa yi / o'a nye bie na / iong ni kuuri / ka nuɔ
 ba kpe-o / o'a yel bie / ka boona nyaa? / k'o yel ka / ka kuur ba ioo /
 ti yel ka / k'o na kyeni ti koni / bi sāā ba nu / le la mure / ti yel ka / le
 kan bɔɔr / o'a yel le / iong na gbεε / teung nɔng ba nu / o'a dun bie /
 bie ba koni / bi sāā ba nu (1200) / o'a duur wa yi / le soor bie / bonu
 so koni / nɔng ba ioo / na dun bie / dābie ba nu / kpe tɔ ble / k'o ir
 o kyi / ti de o wuo / ti de o lɔɔ / o'a de tɔm / o'a de ler / ti duur na
 yi / a dundɔr nuori / faa nye kyi / o nu puo / o'a de wiil kpiin / ti
 wiil siuwe / ti wiil ngmini / on wiil wa baara (1220) / ti iong na yi /
 o'a nye soori / mɔl mɔl iong / o'a duuri ti taa / bɔɔbuuro zie / baa ba
 woori / o'a kyuur bar / k'a baa bar kpib / o'a soor daba / dābie iong
 na bii? / k'o yel ka / n bie banu / kā yini-u / naangmin yiri / duur
 wa tani / zie ba mhāā / k'o iong na kɔ / teung nɔng banu / o'a dun a

bie / faa nye pɔɔle mɔhɔla (1240) / a bɔɔbuur yiri / k'o duur wa yi /
 a dunder nuori / tɔ banu / o'a nye pɔɔ / iɔng o bɔɔmu / o'a puor
 pɔɔ / ti puor bɔɔbuura / on puor wa baara / ka pɔɔ yel ka / ka nyine
 fu kyier? / k'o yel ka / n bie nu / nɔng ba nu / ul dun-u / dābie
 iɔng / na kpe ma / ka wani / a bɔɔbuur yiri / pɔɔle mɔhɔla (1260) /
 k'o la na kpai / ti lɛ yel ka / fu bie nya / o yuɔr-aa / din ka bo? / o ba
 la zom / ti lɛ yel ka / n bie yuora / din ka / napolo / pɔɔle mɔhɔla /
 yel ka ai / maa so bie / nyine fu pɔɔ / napolo ka? / k'o yel ka / k'o vɛ
 sɛri / o'a bar kpibo / bɔɔbuur bie / ba yɔɔ wuo (1280) / ti gbaal o zu /
 ti de o leri / lɔng ni lɔɔ / lɔng ni tɔm / bin o pulɛ / o'a bar ala / o'a
 ir nu / tɔ o wuo / o'a ir bom / ti lɛ yel ka / ka tɔ ble / n bin bom? /
 ka tɔ ble / o ba la kpai / ti yel ka / k'o bin ulɔ / on bin wa baara / ti
 lɛ tɔ wuo / ti ir bom / gbɛlme banu (1300) / k'o ir wa baar / bɔtiib
 daa / lɔng ni pɔɔ / o'a ir ala / ir bin teung / ti lɛ yel ka / ka tɔ ble /
 ko kaa teung / o'a kaa be / k'o yel ka / k'o nye gan / o'a nye gani / o
 nye wa baara / o lɛ yel ka / k'o alɛ sɛr / o'a bar zom / o'a de gani /
 k'o tɔ nyũ / o tɔ wa baara / ti lɛ yel ka (1320) / k'o kaa teung / o ba
 kaa teung / k'o soor gan / bono so waab / zi lio iɔng / ka n ba nya /
 wa n zie / gan ba ioo / lɛ yel koa / ka wen nu / k'o lɛ yel ka / bono
 wen? / sãakum weni / makum weni / tɔ ni weni / pɔɔyaa weni / wio
 weni / kɔntɔm weni / bidɔɔ weni / kpartiiɔ weni (1340) / ku lo sɔɔ /
 faa nye tɔ ble / ko yel ka / lɛ na ka / ka na ti ire / na ku n bie? / o'a
 iɔng na puori / ti iɔng na iri / o'a ir baalu / iɔng na yi / a dio nuɔr
 iɔng / seung vurbe / a mur karbe / i da bɔɔr be / i pɔɔbil prume /
 i dabil prume / o'a puor ba / on puor wa baara / o'a nye sori / iɔng
 na yi (1360) / faa nye bomo / kɔntɔm wuo / lɛ soor o / a angmin / kan
 puori a dɔɔ na / ti ba puor ulɔ? / kãn lɛ zĩ murɛ / ti iɔng na puori /
 a wuo ba sɔɔ / o'a sɔɔ baalu / k'o yi nye sori / iɔng na kyeni / ti lɛ
 nye bomo / bom boono? / a zɔɔ puɔ bomo / kpiin ba nu / lɔng
 siuwe / lɔng ni wen / lɔng ni kɔntɔme / basɛ na (1380) / yirsob banu /
 k'o lɛ puor ba / on puor wa baara / ti duur na yi / naangmin yeli / o'a
 nye soori / mɔl mɔl iɔng / sãã yir soori / o'a iɔng na kyeni / o'a duuri
 taa / a sãã yir soori / n in ngmin / o'a zĩ be / zĩ baalu / ti iɔng na
 buɔli / bi dable / ku yi wa ka / o'a duur wa yi / wa yi baalu / an buɔl
 ma? (1400) / a bie ioo / iɔng na soori / anu buɔl a? / on soor wa
 baara / bi sãã banu / lɛ yel ka / maa nu buɔle / n in ngmin? / ka iɔng
 na kɔori / pɔɔle mɔhɔla / wa de soori / sor kpɛɛ banu / k'o iɔng na
 tɔli / bi dable / o'a nye ma / o'a buɔlu-u / n maanu-u / nyine fu
 kyier / bi ma-naa / lɛ yel ka (1420) / na ba kyier zie / ka ka n tɔle /
 ka bi dable / zɔ duur ta / o sãã zie / lɛ yel ka / ma in manu / ka bi

sãã-naa / le soor o / nyine ku yi / k'o le yel ka / n ba bong ye / pɔɔ ni
 tɔlɔ / ka n bong ka / n manu / bi sãã-naa / le yel ka / faa ter ma-i? /
 bi dable / k'o la baalu (1440) / ti le soor sãã / fu nyen nir / k'o ba ter
 ma-i / ti ter sãã / ka bi sãã-naa / le yel ka / yel yɔɔna / kyãã fere ma /
 ka ba bong sere / bi ma-naa / k'o iong na tɔl / faa nye bi dable / ko
 iong na kɔ / n ma nu / bɔɔra tɔlɔ / bi sãã-naa / faa nye suuri / ti le
 soor bie / fu manu anu / bɔɔra tɔlɔ? (1460) / n ma bana / a pɔɔle
 mɔhɔla / bi sãã-naa / k'o le kyuur bie / bi ma-naa / o'a duur wa ta /
 on wa ta / iong na de / bi sãã-naa / k'o yel ka / n ba kɔro fue / on yel
 wa baara / bi ma-naa / k'o le la kpa-i / ti le yel ka / ka bie iong / n
 kun tuɔ̃ bar-ue / ti le kyene / o'a zĩ be / bie ba ioo (1480) / o'a nye
 yẽ / o zu puo / daar kɔ iong / tɔ ble na / o'a yi yo / yɔ kpe muo / ti
 nye kontɔme / k'o tera tɔm / long ni lɔɔ / long ni piime / o'a puoro-
 u / on puor wa baara / a kontɔmaa / le sooru-a / ka bonu k'o bɔɔr? /
 k'o le yel ka / yi na nyɔɔ ma / ka n kpe muo / ka yi wiil ma / yel yɔɔ
 zaa (1500) / ti yaa wiil ma / a bum nya iong / kontɔme na / o'a la
 baalu / ti le yel ka / wa ka ti kuli / ba tu o puri / tu ti kuli / kontɔme
 na / o'a yel ka / ka bon yi na bɔɔr na maali / bibiir niba ma maalu /
 nye n bie / zĩ kɔɔ zom / k'o maal kub / o'a zĩ be / kontɔmbie / o'a de
 miuri / long ni leri / long ni suo (1520) / yi kpe muo / o'a kye daari /
 tamiur daari / on kye wa baara / o'a iong na lɔ / on lɔ wa baara / o'a
 duur wa tani / o sãã yir puo / o'a too lɔb na / on lɔb wa baara / ti ba
 nye dɔɔ / tɔ ble banu / o'a de suo / tamiur iong / o'a ir ulɔ / on ir wa
 baara / o'a iong na bhari / on bhar wa baara / on in ngmin? / o'a
 iong na kuɔri (1540) / on kuɔri wa baara / o'a ir boyeni / a tamiur
 daa / on ir wa baara / wa de leri / iong na peni / on pen wa baara /
 o'a de miuri / o'a iong na kpari / on kpar wa baara / o'a ir ari / o'a ne
 ulɔ / ne na lerem / o'a nyɔɔ duori / on duori wa baara / o'a iong na
 te / te na pim / o'a tera dɔɔ / kyeni ti tani / sããsob zie (1560) / on ti
 taa / faa nye kule / faa nye leri / legbie ba nu / o'a ti tani / sããsob
 zie / o'a iong na puori / zaa yaani / o'a sɔɔ yaani / on sɔɔ wa baari /
 ti le soor u / ka dãbie iong? / a ai / k'o yel ka / kontɔmo nu-aa / nu-a
 de ma yaa / ka n wa / fu zie / n wa ta / n be iong na puori (1580) /
 dãbie ba nai / kontɔmbie-nu / zãã tĩisɔɔ / kã n ir le yi / a ti-vaar
 puo / ti iong na yɔ bɔ / n bon bɔɔra / tĩi ba na / ka n bɔɔr na bɔ /
 kontɔma nu-a / maa nye ulɔ / o'a yeri bomo / yeri zeze / maa soor
 ulɔ / boona anya? / o'a yel ma-a / ka lɔɔ na nya / ka tɔm na nya / on
 bɔɔ woro / o'a yel ma (1600) / ala na ya / kã yel-ua / fu na wiil ma /
 a yel yɔɔ / a le daara / fun nyɔɔ ma / faa wiil ma / tɔm ni pĩi / long
 ni lɔɔ / on yel wa baar / kontɔmbie / a lana ya / ko de ma / ka ti wa

ta / o sãã yir puo / k'o iong o bie / bi dable / o'a kpe muo / o'a nye
 daari / kye wa tani (1620) / o'a iong n wiilu / on wiil wa baara / o'a
 iri ari / ne na duori / o'a yel ma / kan i ti wa / fu zie ka / tia wa wa
 ta / a bom na / n wani-a / ola na anya / n yel koba / nya kontombie /
 kontombie / o'a de leri / ku sããsoba / sããsob na-a / wa buol bie / bi
 dable / k'o zo wa ta (1640) / k'o yel ka / wa zĩ teung / k'o wa ta / o'a
 lo tũ-u / k'o zo yi / a zoɔ nuor iong / ti nye bomo / taan dangma / k'o
 iong vũ-a / iong wa baari / o'a iong na di / on di wa baara / bi
 dable / o'a iong tieru / kuã bhaaro / o'a ɔng ala / duur wa yini / kyir
 ba iong / a vũ zeɛ puo / iong wa baari (1660) / o'a ir saala / a vũ
 kpo pio / duur ti tani / o sãã zina zie / a sããsob na / le yel ka / k'o
 ka ale / o'a bar seri / on bar wa baara / k'o yel kontombie / k'o wan
 leri / long ni kuuri / o'a wa tani / o'a de leri / iong vũ puo / o'a de
 saala / kyir pɔɔ leri / on kyir wa baara / sããsob na / le buol bie (1680) /
 k'o duur wa ta / k'o le yel ka / k'o do zĩ ka / o'a do zĩ be / on zĩ wa
 baara / ti de o gani / bura dãã gan / ir o miuri / boor kpil puo / on
 ir wa baara / ti ir na gũ / nyɔɔ na lõ / on lõ wa baara / o'a de o
 yuori / ngma o neɛ / ti de ba pɔɔ / a sããn nuor iong / o'a nyɔɔ na lõ /
 on lõ wa baara / ti le yel bie (1700) / k'o zĩ ka / o'a ir zĩ be / a sããn
 zu iong / o'a yel ka / k'o zuu iong / o'a iong na zuu-aa / ngmin pielu /
 duur wa yi / a sããn nuor iong / o'a iong guba / le iong na zuu / ngmin
 pielu / le wa yi / gbɛɛ ayi / faa nye sãã / sããsob-na / iong k'o zuu / on
 zuur ala / ler ba muo / o'a de kyaba (1720) / iong na nyɔɔ / wa nyɔɔ
 baalu / a sããn kuur zu / iong na to / to wa baari / to bhuol iong / to
 wa baari / o'a ir kyiira / iong na kyi / kyi wa baari / faa nye muri / mu
 kpɛɛ bana / o'a sel ulɔ / ti iong o yuor / ka pĩ-nu / kontombie / ni to
 ble / ba de pĩ / long ni tɔm / kul ti tani (1740) / a sãã yir puo /
 kontombie / yel to ble / ku nye sor / o sãã yir sor / mɔl mɔl iong / to
 ble na / iong na yi / o'a nye nibe / kontombiri / o'a puor ba / puor
 baalu / on puor wa baara / ti ba nye sori / o sãã yir sori / mɔl mɔl
 iong / duur ti ta / a sãã yir puo / faa nye bie / bi dable (1760) / zo
 tuor u / on zo tuor u-aa / bibil bawono / o'a nye bom / o sãã zie /
 iong na soori / boonu anya? / bi sãã na / le yel ka / fũ so ulɔ / vɛ ka
 ti ta yir / ka n ku fu / ba ti ta / a sãã yir puo / bi sãã na / de lɔɔ naa /
 long ni tɔmu / bie banu / o'a nye tɔmu / o'a la mure (1780) / ti yel
 ka / n sãã nu / wani tɔmu / long ni lɔɔ / bi sãã na / o'a de tɔmu / wa
 yi yon / a tãpuor zu / ar baalu / saal daa bhol / o'a nyɔɔ tɔmu / ti
 iong pĩ / iong na tɛ / na saal daa / pĩ ba nyɔɔ / a saal daa bhol / bi
 dable / o'a nye ala / o'a la mure / ti duuri ta (1800) / o sãã zie / iong
 na kon / kuma tɔmu / long ni lɔɔ / long ni pĩme / bi sãã na / o'a de

tōmu / o'a ko bie / bie nyɔɔ tōmu / o'a ir pīi / a lɔɔ puɔ / iɔng a
tōmu / iɔng na tɛ / tɛ bɔ̃ gu / ti iɔng na la / bi sãã na / o'a bar tōmu /
k'o a bie / o'a tɛr tōmu / o'a kpɛni (1820) / bi ma banu / pɔɔle
mhɔla / saar ba ioo / o'a de ulɔ / iɔng na piiri / di kpɛ̃ sɔɔri / o'a
iɔng piiru / bie banu / ni o tōmu / iɔng na tɛ / bi ma-na / o vaar
iɔng / o'a tɛ na kpib / bi ma-na / duur ka ira / ti ngme bie / bi
sãã-na / o'a nye suuri / o'a yel ka / nin daar iɔng (1840) / ta la ngme
bie / bi ma banu / o'a bar bie / dayere bio / bi sãã banu / kyen puo
puɔ / ti ti kɔ / ti ir wa ta / o sãã yir puɔ / faa nye bie / long ni tōmu /
ba zī be / iɔng na diɛn / bie ba ioo / o'a de tōmu / iɔng ni pīi / bi sãã
banu / o'a iɔng na gan / on gan wa baara / faa nye bie (1860) / o'a de
tōmu / long ni pīi / o sãã lani / o'a ta be / a lan iɔng / o'a iɔng na tɛ /
tɛ a lani / tɛ na kpib / bi sãã-na / o'a nye suuri / ir ngme bie / ka bi
ma-naa / lɛ yel ka / o'o 'i / ta ngme bie / dabor daara / dabor daa
diẽ / kã ngme bie / bie na tɛ ma / ka fu yel ka (1880) / ka n ta ngme /
on tɛ fu-a / fũn bara? / bi sãã-naa / o'a yel ka / ma nyɔɔ bie / dur
yini / dundɔr iɔng / o'a bar bie / faa nye ngmama / a tuɔr pari / kaa
dire kyi / faa nye boni / naangmin bonio / ziera banu / dur wa siu /
ngme a ngmana / faa nye ngmana / a ba gã be / faa nye bie (1900) /
duuri ti ta / long ni tōmu / long ni pīi / tɛ bɔ̃ gu / ti long ni kyuuru /
o'a wa baara kyuur / o'a de ngmani / long ni pīi / iɔng na kpɛni / bi
sãã zie / ti yel ka / nye n ngmani / ka n tɛ ku / bi sãã na / iɔng na laa /
ti ngme o nyãã / ti yel ka / maa dɔɔ bie / bi gandaa / daar kɔng
iɔng (1920) / k'o faa ma / on yel wa baara / ti ba de ngmani / iɔng
na guri / o'a ir gberi / o'a ir siɛ / k'o a siɛ / bi ma na / ti de gber / o'a
mi tɛri / bi ma na-a / wa la mure / nuɔ ba kpɛo / bi ma na / zie ba
sɔbu / k'o soor bi sãã / ka ti na in ngmini / lɛ nye bie / lɛ iɔng puɔ / ka
ba i ayi? (1940) / ka bi sãã na / lɛ yel ka / ka dayere bio / n na kyena /
a nikpɛ̃ zie / sɛlngminderi / k'o nyɔɔ ti / ka ti lɛ do / a naangmin
zie / ti nye bie / zie ba kyaa / bi ma na / ir ba kpɛ muɔ / o daar bɔbu /
bɔ ti kpɛ / man kpure nuɔr / o'a ta be / o'a nye bomo / zun banu /
long ni pɔɔ (1960) / ba ba dieni / pɔɔ ba nye / iɔng na laa / zun ba
ioo / o'a buɔl pɔɔ / k'o wa ta / o'a soor ulɔ / boonu fu laar / k'o yel
ka / ka bom ba i-aa / ka ba diɛn na / ire ma nuɔ / ala na kã laari / ka
zuna / lɛ yel ka / k'o bɔɔn bom nuɔ / k'o yel ka / o' o' ye / k'o yel ka /
k'o wa zī ka (1980) / k'o wa zī bi-kpibo / zun ba ioo / o'a gani o
pɔɔ / ba tɔ̃ ba tomo / pɔɔ ba nye / lɛ yel ka / k'o mi gani / o'a gani
pɔɔ / pɔɔ ba iri / ir wa baari / ti lɛ yel ka / ka a diɛnu numɔ na / on
yel wa baara / zun ba yel / ka ulɔ diɛn ni nya / k'o na dɔɔna / bi yɔɔ
za / pɔɔ ba ioo / ir zɔ kuli / o yir puɔ (2000) / ti ta be / o'a yel daba /

bom ka nye / dienu kɔng / deb yel ka / bonu dienu? / ka o yel ka / vɛ
 ka n wiil fu / o'a ti ga / ti buɔl daba / o'a ta ba / wa mi ga / ka pɔɔ
 ne / o'a wiil tomo / dab ba nye / ka numɔ o zie / k'o la mure / ti yel
 ka / ka le na ka / ka ka dienu numɔ (2020) / dayere bio / dɛb ba iri /
 iɔng na yeli / ir ka ti kyeni / a naangmin zie / ti zel a bie / pɔɔ ba
 ioo / iɔng na zɔɔri / ti yel ka / ka o'a kyiere / fu na nye dienu / ka
 numɔ nya / ti fu le duori / naangmin zie? / ir ka ti dien / daba ba
 taa / ba ba dieni / bibie ayuɔbi / faa nye pɔɔ / dayere bio (2040) / o'a du
 biɛũ / o'a uɔb tiu / zie ba kyɛle / faa nye pɔɔ / k'o kyãã tiu / faa nye
 daba / dābie bana / iɔng na kpɛ o / k'o le yel ka / ka ba in ngmin /
 pɔɔ ba ioo / le yel ka / i ka ti zĩ / dab ba ioo / yel a pɔɔ / vɛ ka ti
 kyeni / a naangmin zie / ti bɔng a puor / tiub ye / pɔɔ ba ioo (2060)
 le yel ka / k'o kō kyeni / faa nye daba / k'o zĩ baalu / ti iɔng na soora
 par / pɔɔ ba ioo / le yel ka / k'o bar ala / ti ir ka ba dieni / n puor
 nya / ba ɔɔr ma-i / dayere bio / ka puor ba ɔɔri / o'a lɔɔr kyeli / tɔ
 ble banu / o'a zĩ ber zom / ti ir ka yi / duur ti kyeni / kɔntɔmbie zie /
 ti soori u-aa (2080) / wa nye ma / yel kɔng na / na dɔɔ maa / kɔn-
 tɔmbie / duur wa ta / lɔng ni wuɔ / lɔng ni kpo / lɔng ni gbelme /
 lɔng ni bɔtibe / lɔng ni siuwe / lɔng ni kube / lɔng ni man uɔra / o'a
 zuu bini / bin wa baari / ti le yel ka / k'o tɔɔ ta / o'a tɔɔ ta / k'o le
 yel ka / k'o nyɔɔ ba nyɔɔ / ba nyɔɔ ta (2100) / baa puor ta / ban puor
 wa baara / ti k'o lieb guba / faa nye daa / daa boonu? / lɛr kukur nu /
 o'a de-o / on de wa baara / ti le yel ka / k'o nyɔɔ iɔng ma / o'a nyɔɔ
 iɔng u / kɔntɔmbie / ba nyɔɔ daa / ba nyɔɔ shɔɔ / kɔntɔmbie / ba
 wiil o / k'o nye bomu / k'o iɔng na soori / bom bonu / ka ba yel
 ka (2120) / fu pɔɔ puɔ / na ɔɔra / ka fu wa ka / ala na so / ka n de
 wuɔ / vɛ ka n zuu lɔb / ka fu nye bie / o'a zuu lɔbi / faa nye bie / ka
 lo gyirme / k'o le yel ka / ka yel miɔ na / n pɔɔ puɔ nu-aa / ɔɔr o zaa /
 ala na ya / ka n yel ka / n do naangmin yir / ti soor nya / faa nye
 tieru / le wa ma (2140) / ka n yel ka / n na wana / wa soor fu / soor
 bɔɔ bom / ala na ya / ka n wani / kɔntɔmbie / le yel u-aa / bom ba
 nai / nir nu-aa / na wa fu zie / ni paala / ala na ya / ka naangmina /
 bɔng o bɔɔm / de ku pɔɔ / iɔng o puɔmi / alɛ zũ yaa / le zɔ kula / a
 nir na (2160) / o ba iri / o'a yi / zɔ ti kuli / o sãã yir puɔ / o'a ti ta /
 wō koni / ka bible / iɔng na kō / ko yel ka / an so bie / k'o wa
 kon / n yir ka? / o'a duur kpɛ be / o'a nye pɔɔ / k'o tɛri bie / dābie
 ba na / iɔng na kpɛ o / k'o le yel ka / k'o alɛ ka / o'a bar zomu (2180) /
 on bar wa baara / pɔɔ nyɔɔ ble / le yel ka / k'o vɛ sɛr / ka yel nya
 iɔng / naangmin-ua / naru naru-u / tō a pɔɔ / ko kpɛ muɔ / ti nye
 ye / wa iɔng na dieni / on dien wa baara / k'o lieb puɔ / le kpɛ o /

nir ba no / wa fu zie / faa nye daba / ko la mure / ti le yel ka / a bie
 nya iong-a (2200) / n teru a / naangmina-u / ku ma ule / ti bie nya
 na / n yel ka / anu kum? / ka pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ ble / le yel ka / naangmin
 kum / ala na vɛ / ka pɔɔle mhola / kpe a muo / ti nye zuni / k'o wiil
 o / a dienu nya / a dien wa baara / n bie o'a song-o / ala na anya / faa
 nye ala / bi sãã na (2220) / le yel ka / a bie nya ulo / n na puora / o
 yuor ka / ka Der / naangmin ba kuma / ka derua / pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ ble /
 iong tieru-aa / o'a kyuur daba / k'o bar kpibo / ka pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ ble / le
 yel u-aa / k'a a yuor / na di der-aa / k'o yuor ba nue / k'o yuor di na /
 ka piwai / bi sãã na / le soor pɔɔ (2240) / bono piwai / k'o yel ka /
 naangmin-oa / na dong ku o anya / iong o yuori / ka piwai / bie ba
 soor / soor wa baari / k'o yel ka / ka bie nya naa / n puora yuora / a
 piwai-a / yi na nyena / biir pie / dɔɔl ba zu / faa nye ba / ba dɔɔ
 biiri / ka ba i pie / pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ ble / o'a la mure (2260) / ti yel ka /
 angmin nibe / ka be yel ka / ba in pie / long piwai / ni naangmin
 bie / faa nye ba / naangmin seb / wa ngme ba / baa i pɔɔ / ban pɔɔ
 wa baara / faa nye daba / daar kɔng iong / o'a de tamiu-e / long
 tendee / o'a maal ala / maal wa baari / o'a pɔ ba / pɔ wa baari / ka
 ba yel ka (2280) / a ba i yele / wiil ti a teb / o'a de tɔmu / duur ti
 yini / buol ngmin bie / ko wa yi / na o tɔmu / o ba wa yi / ni o
 tɔmu / o ba yel ka / ka ba kaar ka / a saal daa mhola / o'a tɛ o / o'a
 pɔɔ saalu / dayere bio / ka tɔ ble / o'a yi yɔbu / long ni biiri / baa
 duuri ta / muo kpɛɛ puo (2300) / ban ti ta / mure ba nu / iong na tɛ /
 tɛ bɔ gu / o'a ar be / naangmin bie / iong o pɛi / o tɔm iong / ti iong
 na tɛ / on tɛ wa baara / o'a pɔɔ mure / k'o iong na zo / zo ti kyeni / ti
 ta be / bɔɔ nuor iong / iong na kpe / o'a nye kontɔmbiir / o in
 ngmin? / kontɔmɔ-na / le soor ka (2320) / an tɛ ma / nader ble? /
 dãbie-na / kpe ngmin bie / k'o ar be / baa vũɔ pɛi / ban vũɔ wa
 baara / ti le soor o / bono fui ɔng? / k'o yel ka / n ba iong bome /
 kontɔmbira / ka ba yel ka / k'o vɛ ser / o'a vɛ be / on vɛ wa baara / ba
 nyɔɔ-o / ba ter tani / ba dio nuor iong / ba yel ka (2340) / zĩ ka seri /
 ba kyen ka vaar / wan wa tani / k'o len nya / o'a len ulo / taan tie
 nu / o'a ter tuoi / ba le kye / do vaar ba nu / wan wa tani / k'o len
 ala / o'a tera tuoi / ba le de / ga vaar bana / le wa tani / k'o len ala /
 o'a de vaari / long long taa / k'o len ala / a ba tera tuoi (2360) / yebe
 vaari / o'a wa tani / k'o len nye le / o'a iong na leni / k'o ter tuo / ba
 kɔ̃ɔ ba de ulo / o'a de ser / wa wa duuli / o'a de yebe / iong ser puo /
 iong wa baari / ti iong vũũ na / o'a de bomu / bom bonu? / dampan
 zu / o'a iong be / ti iong na duu / ba kara ala / k'o yel ka / wana
 pɛi (2380) / o'a de pɛi / tur ko bie / a kontɔmbie / o'a de pɛi / a yebe

kuõ na / a kuõ tulo / o'a de iõng / a pīi iõng / iõng wa baari / ti yel
 ku-a / k'o nye yebe / ka ulõ wa kula / k'o ti wiil o sãã / a tõ ble na /
 o'a duur ti kuli / o sãã yir puo / o'a ti tani / wiil tõ ble / on wiil wa
 baari / k'o yel ka (2400) / ka le na ka / ti kõtõmõ / tẽr ma le / ti kpe
 muo / a ti wiil ma / lõo dulu / on wiil wa baar / sãã ba ioo / de o
 pīi / iõng o tõmu / ti le yel ka / ka zirina / k'o ba i bome / ka
 naangmin bie / le yel ka / k'o len nye / o'a iõng na leni / zel ba voo /
 o'a de pīi / o'a ir yini (2420) / a dundor iõng / o'a nye nuo / o'a de
 ku bie / bibil puri / k'o tẽ k'o nye / o'a iõng na tẽ / faa nye nuo / ko
 lieb lo kpai / o'a de kũũ / o'a kpi baari / faa nye bie / o'a kpe yel
 sãã / dayere bio / o'a de lõo / lõng ni pīime / o'a kyen kye yebe /
 dampan zu / o'a ngma wa iõng / o lõo puo / o'a iõng na duuli (2440) /
 ala ba kara / o'a de pīime / a bi yoo pīime / o'a iõng be / tikye i
 zele / on zel wa baara / on in ngmini? / dayere bio / o'a yel ba / ka
 ba kpe muo / ba-a kpe muo / ba'a nye bomo / wal piel da / lõng ni
 poo / ba ar be / faa nye bie / ngmin bie banu / nu tulu sob / o'a iõng
 na tẽ / kpi kpib iõng (2460) / pīi ba nyoo / wal piel da / o'a lo be / o'a
 ngme kyeli / bi sãã na / o'a duur wa ta / wa nye bom-u / wal piel
 kũũ / o'a la na mure / k'o yel ka ya / ir ka ti kuli / baa ti ta / a sãã yir
 puo / ban in ngmini? / ba yel pobo / ka ba kyen tuo nen / baa duur
 ta be / baa nye neni / baa iõng na la / baa tuo ala (2480) / duur ti
 tani / ka tõ ble na / o le yel ka / ka ba ale ser / ba bar kpibo / o'a ir
 gberi / ulõ so ulõ / o'a ir sie / ma so ulõ / o'a ir nyũũ / nen tuoro so
 ulõ / o'a ir ziuẽ / ku o sããkum / o'a ir nyobo / ku a pobo / o'a ir zu /
 ku o ba / ti le yel ka / fu mi wa ku / mi ira zu (2500) / wa kuma / o
 yel wa baara / dayere bio / ba gaa puo puo / ba ti kuori / ba nye neni /
 nen bono? / wẽ naab ba nu / lõng ni ble / ba ira ar dẽũ / naangmin
 bie / duur ta be / liur ta be / ti iõng na tẽ / wẽ naab na / o boõ-
 ngman iõng / o'a gyir ba tẽ / faa nye lõo / a ba ir ti do / o nyoi
 puo (2520) / o'a lo be / on lo le-aa / ba'a duur ta be / bi sãã nu-a /
 iõng na la / o'a la mure / ti le yel ka / le na ka / kã ba tẽr tõmai / kã
 da bõng ka / wẽ bomo-aa / ben a ka / n ba de tõmõ / nye naangmin
 bie / daar dõng ku / ti le wa ka / a diẽ bibir / le ku anya / ti n ba
 tẽr tõmõ / ba duur ti ta (2540) / ba sãã yir puo / ba yel pobo / ka ba
 kyen de nen / põobil ba na / baa kyen ti ta / baa nye nen / baa iõng
 na la / ti de ala / kul ti tani / ti-a wẽ naab ble / ba ba bar ulõ / ti le
 yel ka / ka ba bar yuon boyen / ka k'o ta naab / ka ba wa wa ku / baa
 bar ulõ / dayere bio / ba kyen puo / ti nye naab ble / k'o oor o
 muo (2560) / ba iõng na la / wẽ naab ble-a / k'o iõng na kõ / ti le yel
 ka / k'o ma san nya / k'o na yana / faa nye ale / yuoma ata / al ba ta /

a daar kɔng iɔng / tɔ ble ba nu / ni o biiri / baa kpe muɔ / ti bɔ ba
neni / baa kul wa tani / ba sãã yir puɔ / ban uɔb wa baari / dayere
bio / baa kyen ba puo puɔ / ti iɔng na kɔ (2580) / baa kɔ wa baara /
pɔɔbil ba na / baa wan dãã / baa zĩ nyuuri / ban nyuura dãã / faa
nye bomu / ba puori / k'o lan wa ta be / bom boono? / pɔɔsarble /
iɔng vielu / baa nye pɔɔ / baa buɔl pɔɔ / k'o wa ka / o'a duuri ti
ta / ka ba yel-ua / k'o nye pɔɔble / k'o buɔl u / k'o wa ka / ban buɔl
pɔɔble (2600) / o'a wa ta / on wa ta / ka naangmin bie / yel ka ya /
k'o pɔɔ-ono / ka piwai / mi yel ka o pɔɔ nu / ka tɔ ble / yel ka ya / k'o
na dena / ka ku yaa / k'o bi nyuura / ka pɔɔble / le yel ka yaa / ka ba
ale ka / ba baar seri / k'o de dale / o'a iɔng na kyeni / gbɛɛ kɔɔr ayi /
o'a ba be (2620) / on ba wa baara / ti yel ka yaa / ka ba tɛ dale / ka
nirzaa yaa / na i dable / wa tɛ pɔɔ-aa / ulɔ ka n bɔɔr / n ba bɔɔr ka /
ka n kul daba / ni daar iɔng / ka ba tuɔ o / baa iɔng na tɛ / tɔ ble
banu / ir tɛ seri / ti ba pɔɔi / o'a yel ka / ka o bi nyuuri / k'o tɛ nya /
o'a tɛ pɔɔ ye / faa nye bie (2640) / ba iɔng na tɛ / naangmin bie / o'a
tɔ o tɔmu / ti iɔng na tɛ / dale na / o'a pɔɔ ulɔ / ti le yel ka / ka ulɔ
nu-aa / k'o sãã dɔɔ / pɔɔsarble / o'a kyen ti nyɔɔ / naangmin bie /
kang-kori ulɔ / on kor wa baara / faa nye pɔɔ / nuɔ ba kpe-a / ba
iɔng na kɔ / ba kɔ wa baara / faa nye bomu / bon boonu (2660) / pɔɔ
nyɔɔ ble / o'a wa ta / a puo puɔ / ti iɔng na soori / bi pɔl bili / bono
yi ire / ka ba yel ka / ka bom banai / ka pɔɔble-nu-a / wa ti zie / ti
yel ka / k'o bɔɔra / ka bi dable / na iɔng zana / o'a nye daba / naan-
gmin bie / o'a iɔng zan / o'a iɔng na tɛ / a dable tɛbu / k'o yel
ka (2680) / ka lɔnu k'o bɔɔri / pɔɔ nyɔɔ ble / o'a de pɔɔ / ka be
denio / kula a yir / na ti ta / a sãã yir puɔ / pɔɔ nyɔɔ ble / na bɔng
o bomo / o'a gyir pɔɔ / nye a pɔɔ-a / ti iɔng na kyuuri / pɔɔble nya /
o'a i pɔɔi / ti tɔ ble / na yel ka / k'o tɛr kuli / o'a tɛr kuli / ti tani / o
sãã yir puɔ (2700) / zimaan sɔng / faa nye pɔlɔ / ba ir puo puɔ / kul
wa ta / a sãã yir puɔ / ka tɔ ble / o'a yel ka / ka naangmin bie / k'o
de o pɔɔ / ka kpen o diem / o'a de pɔɔ / ba ti tani / o dio puɔ / o'a
de gani / mure gani / yel k'o zĩ / o'a zɔɔr bari / k'o le de / wal piel
gani / yel le ko zĩ (2720) / k'o zɔɔr bari / o'a le de / zipiu gani / yel
k'o zĩ / k'o zɔɔr ulɔ bari / o'a le de / wɛnaa gani / yel k'o zĩ / k'o zɔɔr
ulɔ bari / o'a le de / bur gani / yel ko zĩ / k'o zɔɔr ulɔ bari / o'a le
de / siba gani / yel k'o zĩ / k'o zɔɔr ulɔ bari / o'a ir de / o ma gani /
wɛnaab gan banu (2740) / o'a wa lɔbu / lɔb bin teung / pɔɔble ba
nye / duur ta be / o'a lo zĩ / ti iɔng na kɔ / naangmin bie / o'a soor
pɔɔ / bon so koni / k'o le yel ka / k'o ba kone / ka pɔɔ nyɔɔ ble-nu /
gbɔɔ o vuu / ka zuur ya / kpe ma nimie / ka nimie kuɔ / wa yire / on

yel wa baara / zie be sɔbu / ba iɔng na gã (2760) / k'o soora sirɛ / ka
 o yuor din ka bo / k'o yel ka ya / n yuor-ua / naangmin bie / o'a mi
 soor pɔɔ / fu yuor-a / din ka boonu? / ko yel ka / n yuor-ua / ma nye
 wuur / k'o yel ka / k'o yuor viɛla / k'o lɛ soor ua / n sirɛ / fu ma in
 ngmin / wa ti ku / a bom bɛrɛ nya? / k'o yel ka ya / ka o ma tuɔ
 ku (2780) / k'o lɛ yel ka / ku ni bo / k'o yel ka / tɔm ni pī / k'o yel
 ka / ti ulɔ wa / i dun-faa / o'a bɔɔr fu kub / fu na in ngmin? / ko lɛ
 yel ka / kãn mur teung / k'o yel ka / ti ulɔ mi wa mur / ko yel ka / ka
 o yɔɔ do saa / k'o tur fu / kã liɛb vaa / k'o kyan tur / kã liɛb muɔ /
 k'o kyan tuur (2800) / k'o lɛ yel ka / kã n liɛb mi— / ka pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ / yel
 ka ya / faarin gyo / ka bie bar kpib / pɔɔsarble / ba iɔng na soori /
 buono yelu / ka pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ ble / yel ku fu / ka fu lɛ i gbili / k'o yel
 ka / bom ba iai / on yel wa baara / faa nye pɔɔsarble / soor wa gu /
 ti baar ti gã / zie ba kyeli / naangmin bie (2820) / ka kuɔr bie / ir zi
 lio / iɔng na kyeni / o puo puo / wa yel ka / ka pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ ble / k'o ir
 a kyi / ka ba tɔ-aa / k'o ku pɔɔ saana / k'o iɛri wani / o'a ir a kyi / ku
 a pɔɔble / ba ba tɔ / baa ir bie / o'a ko pɔɔ / k'o iɛr kyeni / a puo
 puo / o'a ti iɛri / on iɛr wa baara / o'a iɔng na yini (2840) / pɔɔbil
 mɔhɔla / ba iɔng na biɛlu / k'o lɛ yel ka / ka ɔ̃ ɔ̃ ye / ka ba vɛ ser / baa
 lɛ kuli / ti o ba de zɔ̃ / iɔng piɔ puo / a tuo zumi / ba ti tani / a puo
 nuɔri / nye to ble / o'a ar be / ti liɛb o naab / lɔng ni tuori / o'a duur
 ti ta / naangmin bie / o'a ir gyir nye / o'a de tɔmu / lɔng ni lɔɔ (2860)
 o'a vuɔ pī / iɔng na tɛ / o'a tɛ bɔ̃ gu / o'a ta be / bɔɔr o kub /
 naangmin bie / mur kpɛ teung / ka naab na / mi muri kpɛ teung / o'a
 ir iɔɔ / wɛ naab na / mi iɔɔ tu o / bɔɔr o kubu / o'a liɛb wa siuu / o'a
 liɛb vaari / ka wɛ naab na / mi liɛbu vaari / a bɔɔr o kubu / k'o lɛ
 liɛb muɔ / ka wɛ naab na (2880) / mi liɛbu muɔ / a bɔɔr o kubu / k'o
 bɔ̃ gu / on in ngmin / o'a yi kyaa puo / k'o wa ta / a naabu / o'a bɔɔr
 o kubu / k'o bɔ̃ gu / ti liɛb fumin / ir kpɛ o zuuri / o'a gã be / ka wɛ
 naab na / bɔ̃ wa gu / o ba nyu ye / ti kpɛ o muɔ / on kpier ti tara / k'o
 yi lo / on yi lo baara / ti wɛ naab na (2900) / o'a iɔng na kɔ̃ / ti yel
 ka / ka naangmin bie / ka bidaba nu / ka ulɔ ba i daba / n na ti ku
 ona / n ma iɔng / ni n laab iɔng / tikye yaa / a pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ ble / o faari
 n gyo / o lɛ faa-o / ka a ba i lɛɛ / tin tier ka yaa / a ziɛ zaa kpo / n na
 ti ku ona / lɛ na vɛ / ka pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ / o nuɔri / nir kun tuɔ (2920) / gɔ̃ɔ
 bare / ka bi pɔlɔ / lɛ soor ka / a in ngmin / ka pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ nuɔr / ba kun
 tuɔ / lɛ gɔ̃ɔ bare / fu ba nye / ka naangmin bie / lɛ yel ka / fu tɔr
 bɔng / ka fu kun tuɔ / i bom zai / ala na / ka fu soora / a anya taba /
 fu ba nye / a tini / wa kpɛ muɔ / ti kuɔra (2940) / ti wa wa yir / ti
 sãã banu / a tɔ ble / ko lɛ soor ti / a ti muɔ yele / o'a ir daba / a ti

sõõ be / on soor wa baara / faa nye bie / na iong zana / ti a fu sooru /
a fu na soor ma / fu in bibi faa / ba bong bom zaa / in yel faana / ka
fu wa i bom / i wa baara / wa nye vla / fu na boona / ka fu le ba nye
vlai (2960) / fu na kyaana / le bong ala / on yel wa baara / ti le yel
ka / ti kye sooru / fu soor ma / a yele na / ka n yel ku fu / fũ wa
boora / na bong a par / tõ tõ faa / ti bel nye / on yel wa baara / ti le
yel ka / bibil bawono / fũ tõ toma / ka ba wiil wa gu-a / daar kõ
iong / fu na tuora / a yele ala (2980) / na shoo fu-a / on yel wa
baara / ti le yel ka / ka ti bom nya / tin ter o'a / i a bom kpẽẽ / a fera
ti-a / a kori zaa kpo / bom boono? / ma ti boor bono / ia yel faa / a
fera ti / long n pɔɔbili / long ni door / long ni pɔɔbo / tin in ngmin /
a yel nya iong / ma deungdem / tera ba bom / wa ti kpier a teung
(3000) / na long kpeni / ti bar ku ti / ka a feri ti / k'o bõ wa gu / pɔɔbil
naba / dabil naba / long ni nibere / ka fera ti / ka ti bõ gu / tin bõ wa
gu / ti iong na zo / a deung bomo / fun in ngmin / zo ti baar? / ala
na so / ka ti nyoo-a / nyoo bõ gu-a / to bere naba / ni to ble / to ble
banu (3020) / ti nikpẽẽ / teri o bomo / kontombira / ir nyoo u-aa /
tera viiri / ti kpeni muo / ti wiil-ua / a yel yoo anya / ban wiil wa
baar / ti kye kũũ / ka ti bõõ ka / a kũũ nye iong / to ble banu / wa
wiil ti / a kɔbu / wa wiil ti / a dibu / wa wiil ti / dãã duubu / wa wiil
ti (3040) / kyi kɔbu / wa wiil ti / we bom kubu / on wiil wa baara / ni
daar bio / ka ti gyire / a to ble na / k'o kpe teung / ka dãbie kpe ti /
ka ti bõ gu / ti ir nyoo ala / a man ora na / ti nyoo ala / iong na to / to
bõ gu / bar ku biiri / ka biir mi de / fu na nye bible / na iong tieru /
ti bom nye iong (3060) / ti na bõ gu-aa / o'a ti nyu-u / k'o i
naangmin yeli / ti i kontom yeli / ka ti tu bõ gu / ti le wa ta / ti sãã
yir puo / daba ba ioo / bõõ yel yoo / o na bõõ yela / ka ti yel ka /
naangmin yelua / ni daar iong / ka ti faa ta / ti a bong ala / a
deungdem na / na bõ wa gu / ti ti nyoo ala / nyoo ni duurua / ba
nyoo ni guba (3080) / le ari sire-a / ba ar bele / ti iong na nye-a / yel
miõ yele / ba ngmara ziri / a deungdem-aa / na bõ gu / tia ngme
anya / ka ti bõ gu / ti nyoo-ala / a yel ziri-a / a deungdem nuora / zir
nuora / be tu bõ gu / ti lieb bufulu / le kpe a teung / ti ti mi ira / mi
yel ka / ka ti na tuna / a deungdem yele (3100) / ti tuõ bõ gu / tin tu
bõ gu / tia le zĩ teung / ti leb bieri / a deungdem gbẽẽ / ti le nyee / a
yel yoo yele / na le wa / boonu wa? / faa nye kɔbu / na wa ti zie / yel
miõ na / ka na in ngmin ko ti / faa nye ala / tia ur biiri / long ni
pɔɔbo / ti na urba-a / akuur ba-io / ka fu uu ni ba / ti le yel ba-a (3120) /
a in ngmin / ka pɔɔble ulu / kun tuõ koi? / fu boono bunu / na i le /
ka pɔɔbo / kun tuõ kɔ-a? / ka pɔɔ nyõõ ble / le soor ka / yi ala ka / ba

bar zom / k'o le yel ka / ka bom na vē / ka pɔɔble yaa / kun tuɔ̃ kɔ-a /
 olɔ nu-a / a bondiri ire / olɔ nu-a / a sɔr pire / olɔ nu-a (3140) / a
 vũũ gbɔɔrɔ / olɔ nu-a / a kuɔ̃ ɔngnɔ / olɔ nu-a / nir yir nir / le na
 vē / ka ti kun tuɔ̃-a / bar pɔɔble / k'o kuɔr a kɔb-ɛ / ka dable-a / le
 soor ti-a / bona vē / ka pɔɔble / i nir yir nir? / ka pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ̃ na / le la
 baalu / ti le yel ka / ka pɔɔble-a / k'o kun tuɔ̃-a / zī a fu yiri puɔ
 (3160) / bona vē / k'o kun tuɔ̃ / zī a fu yiri puɔ? / ulɔ i daba / o dɔɔra /
 dɔɔ ɔng yir puɔ / un dɔɔna / yuom o ayi / zī a diem-a / ti dire a
 dɔɔ-i / on yel wa baara / ka dable-a / o'a la baalu / on la wa baara / ti
 ɔng na kuli-a / nikpɛ̃ɛ banu / gaa o yiri / ka pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ̃ ble / mi yi de
 soori / ɔng na kyeni (3180) / faa nye boni / bom kuura banu? / ka
 ba wiili / a tɔ / bɔɔnu bom kuura? / k'o le yel ka / yebe nu-a / ka ba
 wiil-u / ka ba duuli / k'o kun we duni / a dable-a / ɔng na kyeni / ka
 pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ̃ mia / o'a mi de sori / on kyiera-a / ka tɔ / o bi dabanu /
 gandaa bie / ka ba buɔl ua / ka dɛri (3200) / bonu-nu dɛr? / o in ya /
 a nir / ban dɔɔ / ko kpi-a / ti le wa / ka ba le dɔɔ / ko le kpi-a / ulɔ
 nu-a / ka ba buɔl dɛr / o in na-a / dable-o / ala so / ka ba k'o tɔmu /
 o'a yini / muɔ pla puɔ / o'a ti bɔ / a we nen gu / le wa yir / pɔɔ ba
 ioo (3220) / ba be yiri / k'o wa ta / kuɔ̃ nyuur banu / ɔng na kpɛ-o /
 o in ngmin / o'a b̃ gu / ti buɔl o pɔɔ / kuɔ̃ mhaarua / wa kum ka /
 faa nye pɔɔ / o'a ir suuri / o'a zɔra kuɔ̃ / suur ba kpɛ / a dɛri / o'a de
 pīi / ɔng o tɔmu / o'a tɛ o miɔ̃ / on tɛ wa baara / yebe ba ioo / o'a
 i lɔɔ-a (3240) / ir do o / piu u nyue / o'a i kũũ / on i kũũ-a / faa nye
 pɔɔ / o'a lɔb kyeli / ni yɔɔ niba / baa wɔn kyeli / zɔ wa ta / baa nye
 kũũ / ba mine ba b̃ɔ̃ ka / ka a pīi-a / ma tuɔ̃ na / k'o a nire / ba man
 ka ya / we dun tiona / k'o ma tuɔ̃ ku / baa nye le / ban nye wa baara /
 dayere bio (3260) / baa de dɛri / ɔng dio puɔ / ba ti ũũ / ban ũũ wa
 baara / ti de ba tɔmu / de ba pīime / lɔng ni lɔori / baa turo taari /
 baa ɔng na gɔm / faa nye dɔɔr / baa yi be / daba ba ioo / o'a kyaar
 tɔmu / baa turo taari / sambar ata / ayen ba tɛ / o'a tɛ niri / faa nye
 daba / naangmin bie / o'a la mure (3280) / ti kyaar o pīi / lɔng ni
 tɔmu / mi ɔng na tɛ / o'a tɛ be / bi pɔl banu / lo ni pīi / faa nye ala /
 ka be yel ka / k'o le na / ka tikye-a / ka niri / ma yel ka kpɛ fu / ka fu
 de daa / bɔɔr na ngmɛ / faa nye anya / yel miɔ̃ banu / ka anya tɛr /
 faa nye ala / dayere bio / pɔɔsarble (3300) / na sɛ zuɔrɔ / o'a kyen
 daa / kyen ti ta / faa nye pɔɔlɔ / na pɔl zenta / ziɛm banu / ti naab
 anya / ba nye pɔɔ / na viel woro / ba yel ka / ba na bona / ba t̃ɔ pɔɔle
 mhɔla / k'o ti buɔl-u / buɔl ku wa / wa ta be / ɔng na zī / on zī
 baal-ua / baa de d̃ã / ɔng o ngmani / ban ku-a (3320) / k'o ɔng
 na nyu / faa nye sire / su tulu sob / o'a wa ta / faa nye tɔmu / lɔng

ni lɔɔ / o'a ta be / iɔng na ngme / a o zani / ngme na kpim / ti yel
ka / dābie ba iaa / kpɛ naab-o / lɔng ni ziɛm / ka ba bɔ̃ gu / ti zī
baalu / ban zī wa baara / suur ba ioo / tɛr o gu / faa nyɛ pɔɔ sɪrɛ
(3340) / k'o iɔng na tɛ / o'a tɛ ziɛm / on tɛ wa baara / o'a i kũ / on
kpi lɛ-a / ka pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ bil-a / lɛ yel ka / ka ba ala ka / ka ba vɛ sɛrɛ /
o'a iɔng kyɛli / faa nyɛ nibɛ / ni yɔɔ niba / zɔ wa ta / ba nyɛ ziɛm / ko
i kũ / ka ba bɔ̃ gu / ban in ngmin / ziɛm yidɛm / bi pɔɔl nibɛ / kokor
iɔng (3360) / pɔɔ sɪrɛ na / o mi yidɛm-a / mi i yɔɔ / a kokor na / ba
tuor ta / a muɔ pla puɔ / iɔng na tɛ / tɛ bɔ̃ gu / faa nyɛ kũni / kpi
diel taa / ka pɔɔ nyɔ̃ɔ bila / ba iɔng kyɛli / nikpɛ̃ɛ banu / o'a yi be /
iɔng o zani / wa wa ta / ti yel ka / ka ba bar sɛr / ba ba bar zom / k'o
lɛ yel ka (3380) / ka yel nyɛ iɔng / ka pɔɔbil beini / wa ku pɔɔl / pɔɔ
sɪrɛ na / ba ba ku / ka ba yel ka / fu na tuɔ̃ na / a zī zom / ka yɛ lɛ
wa / bon yɛ nu? / ti yɛ n yel ka / a pɔɔ bein iɔng na / ka ba ku kun
yɔɔ / lɛ na vɛ / ka nibɛrɛ na / zī lɔng taa / nar ba naru / wa wa yi /
ti iɔng na hieri / ti lɛ yel ka (3400) / ba bar gɔ̃mɔ / baa bar gɔ̃mɔ /
bono k'o na yel? / k'o yel ka / a kɔ̃ntɔm-a / na wiil ti / bon yɔɔ-ya /
ti bon bein-ɛa / ia boma / ulɔ nu kũũ / k'o wiil ti / a lɔɔ nyɛ yɛla-a /
k'o wiil ti a yebe-a / ka ti kuro ni / a wɛ dun-a / ka ɔɔr ya / ti yel faa
nya / na wa yi ti zu / ulɔ nu bono? / ulɔ nu-a (3420) / a dɛra / na
kyɛna a wio / wa kul ti ta / on ta o yira / o'a zɛli kuɔ̃ / on zɛli kuɔ̃ /
a ba nyai / o pɔɔ zie / sur bɛ iaa / lɛ kpɛ o / k'o bɔ̃ gu / ti ir o pīi / tɛ
o tuɔra / o'a yi kũ / taa nyɛ ala / taa yel ka / bi pɔl kũũ-na / ta ir ari /
iɔng na diɛni / a o pīi (3440) / ti nyɛ kũni / na wa ti zu / bi pɔl wa
i bie / wa ti gaa / diɛn o pɔɔ-ya / o ta wa ti / wa diɛn-ya / a pīi yɛlɛ /
a kũ nyana / na ku ti biira / tin yɛla / ka naangmin kũũ na / ka tɔ
sob / o'a yel ka / a ba i naangmin kũa / wa fɛrɛ ti-ɛ / ti na fɛr taa / ulɔ
nu bonu? / ulɔ nu-a / tɛ fu tuɔra (3460) / ani pīi / ngmaa fu tuɔra /
ani suɔ / ka nir wa i bie / wa bɔ̃ɔ yɛ / o zɔ dābie / a kũ nya iɔng / suur
wa kpɛ fu-a / ka fu i daba / fu mǎ yi na / a dɛ fu lɛra / lɔng ni tɔmu /
lɔng ni suɔ / lɔng ni pīi-a / ti yɛr fu lɔɔ-aa / yi kpɛ muɔ / tuni fu
suura / fu na tun / bon tomo? / wɛ dun daa (3480) / ka fũũ pɔ ulɔ-a /
ti ti ku-a / ngmaa o zu / duur wa tani / fu sǎa yir puɔ / ba na bɔ̃ɔ
na / ka fũũ-nu / ka i daba / ni daar kɔ̃ɔ-yaa / ka tɔ blɛ / buɔl o bira /
lɔng ni pɔɔbɔ / lɛ yel ka / ba bar zom / baa bar zom / k'o yel ka / ba
na buɔla / a naangmin-a / ti ba bɔ̃ɔ-ɔa / ti yel ka (3500) / ka fũ kpi
baara / ka fu na bɔ̃ɔ naangmin / fu na in ngmin / a bɔ̃ɔ naangmin /
ka fu wa kpi-a / k'o yel ka / a lɛ daara / fu na ti yuɔra / a yɛlɛ
yɛlɛ-a / fũ wa kpi-a / fu na nyɛ na / a fu yel bie za / baa yel ka / ka
naangmin-a / ka fu wa kpi-a / ka fu na nyuuna / ka ma tɔ blɛ-a / ani

ngminder / ti bõõ a naangmin zie / k'o yel ti-a (3520) / ka bible-a / o le iru / a daba-a / o le iru / a pɔɔble-a / o le iru / pɔɔ kpẽẽ-a / olo ir ba zaa / on ir ba ya / bon ba ku / baa ku bome / ka ba yel ka / ka ba nye nuɔ / ka ba le nyɔɔ nuɔ / ka ti de yuor-a / ka ɔng kuõ iɔng-a / ka bin ya / ka le de yuor zɔɔla / ka bin ya / ka ka zie wa mani (3540) / ka saa ba wa / ka sa bie kuõ / ka kpe yuɔri / ka ba de ala / ba tani man nuɔri / ba nye bomo / bom boono? / zõ-zõ piɔ nu / baa iru / ba tan yiri / baa ti ta / a muɔ nuɔr puɔ / ba nye bomo / bom bono? / a ti vaar banu / ti buor vaar? / ga vaar bana / baa kye na iɔng / tɔ ba ioo / o'a kyuur ba (3560) / ba bar zom / k'o yel ka / ka ba tu a nyu-ɛ / ba tu a nyu-ɛ / ban tu wa baara / baa tan yiri / ba ti tani / a sãã yir puɔ / ba nye bomo / bom bono? / ti sɔng na / baa tu o nyu-ɛ / baa tu lɔng taa / nikpẽẽ banu / zir ngma bere / k'o yel ka / ka ba de nyu-ɛ / ka gur lɔng ta / baa gur lɔng ta / ban gur lɔng taa (3580) / o'a le yel ka / ka bom bein kye / ka ba le soor ka / ka bom bono? / kakal tie / ka o nyu-ɛ / ka kɔntɔm bom nu / ka ba yel ka / ka ti in ngmin / ko yel ka / ka ba ti ta / o par-aa / a tu o nyu-ɛ / wa iɔng puɔ / ban iɔng wa baara / ti yel ka / ba gur lɔng taa / iɔng kuõ puɔ / kuõ buor puɔ? / k'o yel ka (3600) / ka kuõ ala / na i a sabie kuõ / ka ba iɔng a puɔ / ka ti nyɔɔ nɔra / ka wa ku iɔng nye / baa yel ka / ka ti ku ngmin ngmini / k'o yel ka / ka yin wa ku-a / ka a nɔra / wa lieb lombora / fu bõõ ka / ngmin pla nu / ti ka ulɛ / wa lieb vɔɔl / fũ bõõ ka / ngmina / ba nu-ɛ / ti ka ulɔ / lieb lo kpai (3620) / ni o puora / fu bõõ ka / a bom nya / a ngmin-u / baa nyɔɔ ku / kɔntɔmbie / o'a ir uuru / wa piu ba / ti wa ta / zĩ lan ba / baa ku wa baara / o'a lieb o nu / o'a nyɔɔ nuɔ / iɔng na lieb / ka kɔntɔm pɔɔ / le yel ua / k'o lieb vɔɔl-o / k'o yel ka ya / k'o o ba bɔɔra / ka n ba i bomi ya (3640) / ka yi buɔli / a n yuor / ka n sɔng bari / alɛ na vɛ / k'o nyɔɔ nuɔ / o'a lieb kpai / ni o puori / nikpẽẽ-na / o'a la mure / o'a de ngmani / ni ziri ngma ne / ɔng kuõ iɔng / ti lieb o nu / o'a tõ kaa nye / on tõ kaa nye / on in ngmin / k'o yel ka / ka yel nya iɔng / tin i-oa / k'o tu ti (3660) / ti bɔng ka / yel miõ bom nu / faa nye kɔntɔmɔ / o'a le liebu / on in ngmini / o'a bõ gu / ti ir baalu / o'a kyen o zie / on kyen wa baara / baa nye zie / k'o i kyaa / ka ti bõ gu / ti le nyɔɔ-a / iɔng na tu / tin tu-aa / ti yel ka biir / lɔng ni pɔɔbɔ / ka yele nya iɔnga / ka bible-a / wa iɔng tieru-a (3680) / k'o nyɔ-a / k'o kpe o zu / k'o ter tieru / ni daar iɔng / ka ti faa taa / bonu faa taa? / ala nu ya-a / ka ti yela / ku bibiira / tin yel kuba / ba zaa kpo / k'o yi a puɔ / ti bible-a / na ben be / na i tieru sob / tin yel baara / ti le nya / k'o le i-aa / bon bõõ guura / ka yel yɔɔ (3700) / wa kpe o puɔ / bon i yel yɔɔ / ti ba

nye aa / ka zōzō daa / i a ti bōor bom / damdamwule / o mi i na /
ti bōor bom / burngmaan daa / o mi i na / ti bōor bom / kyaalipio
daa / o mi i na / ti bōor bom / belibaar / o mi i na / ti bōor bom / ka
ba i yoo / ti ba yoo / ka ti yel ka (3720) / ale wa ngme le-aa / tin i na /
ti le bar / tin yele-a / yel wa baara / kontombira / ya le wa / a zi lio
iong / yin wa ta / ya dōon ti / dōm ni bo? / puur ba ɔori / zuri ba
ɔori / an ɔor ti-a / ka ti bō gu / ti soor kontōmo / n tier ka / yin ir ti /
bin teung zu / ka ba la mure (3740) / ti'a soor ka / ka bala ir ti? / ba
sō ɔ ɔ / ban sō wa baar / ka tō le maali-aa / le soori ba / ka bon kōō
aa / ka ba na yel ka / ka bon kpēē nu-aa / ka i ti dōoru / ka kontōmo-
aa / le soor-aa / ka bom ngmē ngmin? / ka tō yel ka / ti won o yuor /
ti ba nye o ngmei / k'o yel ka yaa / fu wō o yuora / o yuor di ka
bo? / k'o le yel ka (3760) / o yuor nu yaa / ka naangmin / ka ma tō /
manu-a / bōng o zie / a kori zaa / ti wa ta / a tengaan / ka nibē yaa /
mi be be-aa / ka ba buola / ka kontōmo-aa / ka yi wa piu n sooru / ka
kontōmo / ba le la / ti yel ka yaa / ka boono / ka fu buol / ka tengaan /
ka tō (3780) / ba zī teung / ti nyoo tengaan / o'a man-u / k'o yel
ka / a tō ble nu / a mǎā yaa / ni tō kpēē / ti ni ayi / tin ayi / na ti wa /
wa zī zie / a zie na-a / kusir panu-a / ka ti zī be-a / ti ba tēr yir-e / ti
ba tēr dioe / nǎn gai / ti ba kyeni / ti bōn yel kōng / a naangmin
zie (3800) / ti na yelua / a yel wa baara / taa ir nye sori / na kyeni /
fu ba nye ala / a naangmin yele / ka tō kpēē / o'a gan tīisōo / wa yel
ka / kaa won o na / ka mang ka / dienu na / ka blā puo-a / k'o iong
na kpi / o ba kpīi-a / on a kpīi-a / ka n bar o-aa / a be ya / ti yel ka
yaa / n na lōō na (3820) / a tēr gani / ka n tēr gani / bibie ata / k'o
iong na puō / kǎ kyāān tēr / gana gure / k'o wa puō / on puō baara /
daar kōō ya / tīisōo bein-a / ka nir-ya / wa wa ta / wa buol ma / ka
n siu ka / n ba siu / k'o de ma / kpeni muo-a / yuom ata / ti wiil ma /
a yel yoo yele (3840) / on wiil wa baara / ti le lieb kyena / sambar
ata / k'o le wa / wa n zie / wa wiil ma / a bom na / n na i le / boono-
nu? / o'a yel ka / kan ngmaa yir / ka n ngmaa wa baara / ko le soor
ma / ka n na in ngmin? / ka n yel ka / n bōona / le n na ia / k'o le
yel ka / i kan nye / n ba i (3860) / i bō gu / o'a de daa / o'a ba teung /
on ba wa baara / ti yel ka / ka n ir muo / pōo daa zu / ka saa wa
waara / k'o piu ma / ka kontōmo / le yel ka / kǎ kyeli ser / n ba kyeli /
k'o de daa / ba iong puo / on ba wa baara / ti le de daa / wan wa
tani / de iong a zu / on iong a zu (3880) / iong wa baara / on in
ngmin? / ka tō na / kaar a ibu / on in ngmin? / k'o yi-a / ti naru
naru / kpeni wa tani / da yoo bana / o'a ba gangyire / on ba wa
baara / ti de amine / le yooli a zu / on yooli wa baara / o'a de tene /

o'a pɔɔ a zu / on pɔɔ kum-aa / ka n zī be / n na in ngmin? / k'o yel
ka (3900) / ka n kaara iiba / n ba kaari / o'a de tene / o'a pɔɔ a zu / on
pɔɔ wa baara / ti yel ka / ka n do ar nya / n ba do ari / n ar wa baara /
ti iɔng dābie / k'o ta wa ire / wa ka loi / k'o ba kare / zie ba sɔbu / zie
na sɔba / saa ba wa / o'a ar zom / n ba gā be / nuɔ ba kpema / bom
bein-ua (3920) / ar n woma / bom boonu / na ar fu wom / kã yele /
ka n kpẽẽ / na kpi be-aa / ka n baar u-aa / ti wa zī ka / n in ngmin? /
ka kontɔmbie-a / lɛ yel-oa / ka be-a / ka yuon wa ta / k'o ir nuɔ / ka ti
zina / a kuur zu / ka ti buɔl o yuor-a / o kpẽẽ yuor-a / ka ulɔ buɔl wa
baara / k'o tieru bomo (3940) / on tiera / a o puor puɔ / ka ti ngma
o nuɔ / n ba ti tieri / ti ngma a nuɔ / ka nuɔ ba lo / n in ngmin? / n
ba dɔng bɔnge / lɛ n na i-aa / ni a nuɔ nyɛ iɔng / ka kontɔme-o / yel
ka yaa / ka ulɔ lo wa baara / k'o zī gyire / ka o wa lieb vɔɔl puɔ / fu
bɔɔ ka / ka fu kpẽẽ / o zɔɔra fu yele / ti ulɔ-a / wa lieb lo kpai-a
(3960) / ni o puor-a / fu bɔɔ ka / o sɔɔn fu yele / on yel wa baar / ka
nir-na / o'a de nuɔ / o'a lo kpai / k'o la mure / ti ir na yi / ka
kontɔmble / lɛ soor-aa / fu na kyieri-a / a zie nya o yuor / din ka
bo? / k'o lieb ar be / o'a iɔng tieru / tier na bɔng / a zie nya yuor / o'a
tier bɔ gu / ti lɛ la mure (3980) / ti lɛ yel ka / ka o kpẽẽ / na gā a
kaya / o i na / na-a / tengaana / ala i lɛ / n na buɔli na ka / n
tengaana / lɛ na vɛ / ka ba buɔlɔ / ka tengaan / ka fũ zī zie-a / wa ir
zī zie kɔɔ / fu mi vɛna / ka ba bɔ-a / a tengaan ble / boonu a
tengaan ble? / fu ni yel a / ka ba ira (4000) / o kuur kɔ-a / lɛ ko fu-a /
ka fu de bin / a fu mi zī zie / o na i na / a tengaan / ulɔ nu-a / ka ba
buɔla / a tengaan ble / faa nyɛ ala / ba yel wa baari / ba na yel wa
baara / ti lɛ yel ka / ti bɔɔra / ka ti bɔng / boono ir nir? / tin wa
nyɛ-a / a nir nya / na iɔng o yuor / ka kontɔmɔ (4020) / ka ti soora
para / boono kontɔmɔ? / k'o yel ka / k'o kɔn yele / a o yuor par / ka
ku tie / ka ti dieni / boono dieni / ka dienu-a / ti zina / k'o wa ir
bomo / iɔng kuor puɔ / ti ba bɔɔ bome / o na ir / ka a ngme-na kuɔ /
ko lɛ yel ti / ka ti i ka ti nyu / ka ti yel ka / tai nyuure / ko yel ka
(4040) / ka n len nyɛ / ka n de leni / ka numɔ ya / k'o yel ka / ka n
fuor nyela / kã ba nyu kaa nyɛ / ka a numɔ / k'o iɔng ka n nyũ / n
nyũ wa baara / o'a mi nyũ / o dɔng yel ka ya / ko kɔ yele / a o yuor
par / ka kama-a / i-ier nya-a / ko o bɔɔr na yela / a yel nya / kum
ma / o yel ka bo? / k'o yel ka ya (4060) / ka o yuor / ka kontɔmɔ-a /
k'o a par anya / ka ala na / ka o kũ ta fu-ɛ / on a yel lɛ-a / on yel wa
baara / ti iɔng na la / o'a la wa baara / ko lɛ lieb ya / ti lɛ soori / a fũ
nu / ka ba buɔlɔ / ka fũ nu ir a nibe / ka o yel ka / ka ulɔ nu / ka ir /
on yel wa baara / tin in ngmin? / naangmin soru (4080) / na wa

uro-a / vë ka ti nyɔɔ / a soor bein iɔng / lɛ soor-a / a naangmin
 yelua / ti na won o yuora / ti tai nyue / ti a lɛ soori / boono ir nir / ko
 yel ka / olɔ ir nibe / o yel wa baara / ka ti yel ka / a boonu / ka ba
 buɔlɔ / a naangmin? / k'o yel ka / ka ti n yel ka / ka naangmin-ua /
 ka zirina (4100) / ka naangmin-a / ka ba be / ka ulɔ nu-o / ka ia
 naangmin / ka ti nye ala-a / ka i ziri / ka ti bõ gu / ti lieb bieri / ka
 ti bõ bom / na ir nira / tin biera / wa ti nyã / tɔ ble zie-a / ma ulɔ
 nu / ia deung nir / ko yel ka / ka naangmina / ka ulɔ ir nibe / ka lɔng
 kontɔme-a / ka lɔng ni nuur (4120) / ka lɔng ni vaar / lɔng ni dun /
 lɔng ni bom zaa / lɔng ni kube / lɔng ni siuwe / lɔng ni weni / tin
 in ngmin / wa ti bõɔ o yele? / ka nir kõɔ ya / ni boono? / napolo
 banu / a tɔ ble / bidab kpẽẽ / o'a yel ka / n won fu yel / n won wa
 baara / tikyɛ-a / fũ yɔɔ ma / gafura / ka n lɛ yel yel kõ (4140) / o'a
 bar zom / k'o yel ka / n won nuora / ti-a n yel / n yela / tin ba fuor
 fue / o'a de sooru / soora biri / soora bɔɔbɔ / soora dɔɔri / fũ na yel
 ka / ka naangmin-a / ka olɔ ir ti-a / a un ir ti / ka ti ira boono? / ka
 ti yel ka / ka fu sooro / fũ na soor anya / a viɛla ti zie / k'o yel ka
 (4160) / naangmina / o na ir ti / bin a teung zu / o yela / ka ti ya / ka
 ti tuur o nɛ / ka zɔr o dãbie / zɔr o vîi / ti tuur o nuori / ti lɛ yel ka /
 ka nir kõ-a / ka k'o ir bin / ka ti ba nyere-o / ka ti ulɛ-a / wa bɔng
 ti-a / ka ti yel zaa / ka kun tuɔ mali / ka ti lɛ sooro / ka ni boono? /
 ko yel ka (4180) / ka tini-a / ka ti sɔɔr a nuor / o na yela-a / ya yel
 ka / ka yi sɔɔna / yi ni sɔɔ-ya / ti lɛ soorua / boonu-a / ka tin na i / tur
 a nuori / boonu / ka ti na i / a zɔɔra fu vîi / boonu / ka ti na i / a
 teung zu ka / a maal fu soori / ti fu yel ka / a nibe bala-a / fu ir ba
 bin (4200) / a teung zu / ka yini wa / wa sɔɔ n nuor / yina zɔɔra ba
 nɛɛ / ka yi sɔɔna / ka n nuori / yi yela nya-a / ya nye ala / ya tu ala /
 bibie ayi / faa nye nibe / na be be-a / ba wa ta / ba iɔng yi belu / ban
 bele yi-a / ka yi yel ka / ka yi na tu bana / ya tu ba / ka yi yel ka / ka
 yi tu banu (4220) / ka yi na nye na yel miɔ / yi na tu baa / n ba ir
 n nu / ti sɔng kɔɔ iɔng / yi na wa / wa yel ma / bom yin nye / a
 teung zu ka / o yel lɛ-a / sãākum kori / bel ba nibe / ia deungdema /
 ba zɔɔr a nuori / ba na zɔɔr a nuori / ti tu kontɔme / ba wa kyeni / ti
 ta be / naangmin bie / iɔng ba sooru / o'a soor ba (4240) / o'a soor
 baalu / boonu kã i / a teung ka? / ka ti yel kaya / ka tin na tuna / ka
 fu nuori / ti n iɔng na tu / ti na tuura-a / ka nir kõ-nu / wa bel ti /
 ka tin tu o-aa / ka tin nye o yel miɔ / tin na tuur o-a / ti mang ka
 ya / yel miɔ-a / bebe-a / ka ti na tuɔ nye / ti-a tu bõ gu / bon bom
 beini / ka fu ku ti? (4260) / naangmin yele / na i yɔɔ / faa wiil ti /
 kuur ba ioo / faa ku ti / ti na tɛr o-aa / wa lɔng siu nia / a teung

zu-a / ka fu yel ka / ka ti nyɔɔ-a / ka k'o i bom / ka ni daar kɔ̃-a / k'o
 na wiɛ-ti / taa nyɔɔ-a / tini wa tani / a teung zua / ti na tɛr o-aa /
 k'o i bom bein / wa song ti / ka kɔ̃ntɔ̃mɔ (4280) / wa bɛl ti / ka ti
 kpɛ muɔ / k'o nyɔɔ ti / lieb o lieb / wa lieb ti yɛ / ka nibɛrɛ-a /
 dɛung ba nibe / baa ti kyeni / a naangmin teung / ban ti ta / ka
 naangmin bie / wa iɔng ba sooru / on lieb soora / boonu yelu ka yi /
 yel ko naangmini? / k'o yel ka / ka ti yel ka / ti na tuna / a o nuɔri? /
 ti na zɔna (4300) / a o vīi / ti na zɔna / a dābie / ti yel wa baara / ti
 wa ta / ka muɔ nir / k'o yel o yele / ka tin tu-ɔ / k'o nuɔra / ka ti na
 nyɛ na / ka o yel miɔ na / tia tu-o / tin tu wa baara / ti lɛ lieb yaa / lɛ
 yel ka / tin na tuna / a fu mi nuɔri / ti iɔng na yiiri / tia tu bɔ̃ gu / ti
 lɛ wa ta fu (4320) / a naangmin zie / tia yel ka / fū ni fu nuɔra / ka ti
 na zɔna / a fu nuɔr diā / ti yel ka / ka diē bibir / ti kun tuɔ̃ / lɛ maal
 vlai / ka ti yel ka / ka tin in ngmin / ka fu yel ka / ka bom ben be /
 ka fu na de ti-a / wa wiil ka ti nya / ka ti iɔng tieru / zī tieri / ka fu
 lɛ yel ka / ka bom nya-a / ka fu na vɛ sɛrɛ (4340) / ka nir kɔ̃ ya / wa
 ti zie / wa bɔ̃ɔr ti sooru / ka ti yel ka / k'o soor ka ti nyɛ / bom na
 sã / boono sã? / kasir oa / ba wa ta / ti yel ka / ka naangmini / ma
 fu ir ma / bin teung zu / ti yel ka / ka fu ngmin biir / ti in yɔɔ / ka ti
 kun tuɔ̃ / wono ta ieru / fu na yel lɛ-a / ti zaa-ya (4360) / ti iɛrɛ na /
 ti ba wona taa / ieru-ɛ / tikyɛ-a / daar kɔ̃-a / tɔ̃ ble banu / wa gã in
 ple / lɔng ni kpɛ̃ / ba n gan be-a / a kpɛ̃ nua / o'a iɔng na kūa / o'a
 kpīi be / on kpīi wa baara / ka tɔ̃ ble / ir kpɛ̃ muɔ / ti bar ti / tia gã
 be / yuom ata / ko wa wa yaa / a daar kɔ̃ng-a (4380) / wa lɔng ni
 nir / wa n zie / baa wa ta be / ko de bomo / bom bono? / nuɔ banu /
 ni o nyɔvuri / ko wa ta / a n zie / ti zī ngme ma / ka ɔ̃ɔr ma / kã n
 ba yel yele / bono vɛ / kã n ba yel yele? / fū yel ka / kã n ta iɛrɛ-i /
 n tɔ̃ sob zie / ka ulɔ saa gbɔ̃ vū / n kyã i gbili / ti gã ya (4400) /
 tikyɛ-a yi zaa-aa / na yele-aa / a yel yɔɔ / a teung zu-aa / yi na wana /
 a n zie / o'a yel lɛ / dɛungdem-a / ba na kyena / k'o soorɛ-a / on soor
 wa baara / ti de yele / boono yel / k'o yel ku ngmin? / k'o yela ka /
 fu na ir ma / fu yel ka n iɛrɛ / a nir zie? / k'o yel ka / n ba yel lɛɛ
 (4420) / ko lɛ sooro / fu na ir ma / fu yele ka / n ma iri / kyen nir
 zie / ti yel yel kuu? / ko yel ka / ko ba yel lɛɛ / k'o lɛ soor / fu na ir
 ma / fu yel ka / n tera nyɔvur / na tuɔ̃ iɔng niri? / k'o yel ka / o ba
 yel lɛ / lɛ na ya / ti daar kɔ̃ng ya / ka tɔ̃ ble / o'a tera o nira / wa wa
 tana (4440) / ko i zuziɔ / ko wa de-a / a in tɔ̃-ya / ti tuori ma / ka n
 kono / ti fu na yel ka / ka ti ta / won taa / ieru / ala na / ka n yel n
 yele / ko ba wūai / ti tuɔr ma-a / on tɔ̃ wa baara / naa bar ma / ti lɛ
 de-a / nuɔ-a / ngma iɔng / o'a de zīi / iɔng n zu (4460) / iɔng wa

baara / ti le yel ka / ka maa i boma / ka n na tera nyɔvur / ka n kaa
 o zie / ka o ta nye fai / ka n kyãã i gbili / ka ngmin sabie / ka ba wa /
 a wa pɔbu / wa piɔ ma / an piɔ wa baara / dayere bio / ka tɔ ble /
 long ni zuzio / ba le wa / wa ta be / long ni nuɔ / le tuɔr ma / ka won
 ma (4480) / ka n iong na kon / n kon bɔ gu / ba la ngme ma / ba
 ngme wa baara / ba de zĩĩ / le iong ma / ala na ya / ka n wani / fu
 naangmin zie / fu in naangmin / ti bɔ fu bɔɔm / ka o yel ka / ka ti
 zĩ ka / ba ba zĩ be / ban zĩ wa baara / fu in ngmin / a naangmin
 yele / wa war uro-a / naangmina-a / wa de bomo (4500) / k'o shɔɔ
 mutong / k'o iong ti zu / ti yel ka / k'o nye bomo / o yel ku-a / k'o
 kaa nye / on kaa nye / gan ua / k'o yel ka / bon fu dɔng / yel kum-a /
 ala na ya / k'o yel ka / n bɔra / k'o yel ka / bɔr ngmin bɔru? / k'o
 yel ka / ka niru-wa / tɛr ma bɔri / ni boonu? (4520) / k'o yel ka ya /
 kontɔmble / o lɔ i ka n bɔr / o le yel ka / kontɔmble-a / fu wona a
 yele / a teung zu? / fu nyũũ na / k'o yuori? / k'o yel ka / k'o ba
 nyũe / fu nyũũ na / ko yel yele / kuro fu? / k'o yel ka / k'o nyũũ na /
 fu ni ano? / k'o yel ka / ma n yɔ / k'o yel ka (4540) / k'o wa fu yir
 bii? / k'o yel ka / o wana / wa wa ta / pɔɔbɔ nyũũ na / ka biir nyũũ? /
 k'o yel ka / ka baa nyũe / a in ngmin / ka ba ba nyũe? / k'o yel ka /
 ma n yɔ / ma nu nyere-o / le na-a / k'o yel ka / fu nyũũ-a / a fu
 yɔ-a / buɔl k'o wa / k'o buɔlu / buɔl o yuor (4560) / ti a kontɔmɔ /
 k'o zĩ piɛl be / k'o buɔluɛ / k'o zɔɔr buɔlu / o'a zɔɔr buɔlu / on zɔɔr
 wa baara / ka naangmini / le yel ka / ma fu yel ka / ka fu won o
 yele / k'o mi won fu yele / ti fu in ngmin / ka o zɔɔra buɔlu? / ka o
 yel ka / n ba bongɛ / naangmini / ko miã-na / mi buɔl o yuori / o ba
 sɔɔ / k'o yel ka (4580) / wa wɔn yele / ba na yele-a / on wa ta / wa
 ar o yɔ / k'o yel ka / ir yela / bom na fun yel ku ma / k'o yel ka / n
 yel ka / fũ ir ma / bin teung zu / ti le yel ka ya / ka n tuur fu nuɔr /
 ka zɔɔr fu dɔbie / ka zɔɔr fu vĩĩ / faa yel kumu / ti le yel ka / ka fu
 na ira nir / ka o wa bel ma nye / o ba wa (4600) / wa yel yele / k'o
 mi tuura fu nuɔr / ka n tier mang ka / ma tu o nuɔra / n tun fu
 dem / ti tuura / wa tu bɔ gu / k'o bel ma / yel o yele / ti kpɛn muɔ /
 ti vɛ ka bɔri / alɛ na yi / ka n yel ku fu / ka kontɔme-a / na iong o
 yɛ / ti soor naangmin / ngmini / fũ ir ma / bin teung zu / fu yel
 mana (4620) / ka n iɛɛ ni nibɛ / k'o yel ka / o ba yele / ti in ngmin /
 ka dɔɔ nya / wa yel yele / le ku fu / vɛ ka n soora nye / fũ na ir
 ma / fu yel ka / ka nisaal sɔɔla / k'o nye ma? / ko ba yel le / k'o yel
 ka / fu na ir ma / fu yel ka / ka nisaal sɔɔla / o won n yele / k'o ba
 yel le / k'o le yel ka (4640) / fu na ir ma / ma ni nisaal sɔɔli / ti long
 kpieri? / k'o yel ka / yi long kpieri / ti i ngmini / kã wa beli nir / ko

song fu sor? / olɔ nu-a / bõõ o yẽ / ti bar fu / k'o yel ka / pampaana
 nya / fu na wa n zie / fu bõõ le / fu na i-a? / kã yel ka / n ba bõõ-ε /
 ko yel ka / ko zĩ ka (4660) / o'a zĩ wa bari / on zĩ wa baara / o'a de
 tulu / iɔng o zu / tɔ ble / fu na bɔɔr ti nyãã / fu na nyen le / fu naa
 yela / ku ti-a / ka ti bar kontɔmɔ / ti faa yel yele / ala na vẽ / ka ti
 bõõ ka / a ti kontɔmɔ / yel faanu / ti i yel vla / yel faa na bo? / ba
 yela / ka tɔ / na kpi kyena (4680) / k'o nyana / a yel bebe / bana i
 uaa / a o zie / ti tini-ya / kun tuõ bare / bona vẽ / ka ti kun tuõ bare /
 ka ba yel ka / ka ti nikpẽẽ / a tɔ ble / o na dire wuura / ti na ina /
 dina wuur / ba na yel wa baara / ka naangmin bie / le soor ka / ka
 fũ ni nira / k'o denio / ti yel ka (4700) / k'o kyiera / ka zi zãã / ko
 kyieri-a / ka fu tuura / ko ti bɔra / ka fu bɔng ka / o bɔra / a teung
 fu kyiera / fu na tun bii? / ko yel ka / ma bõõ zie / n na kyiera / n ba
 sɔɔre / ti a in ngmin / ka fu bõõ ka / o bɔra / ti tuur / on ia / o yel
 kora / a sããkum bomo (4720) / a makum bomo / a taba bomo / ka
 tɔ-a / o wa wana o bomo / ka wa lieb yele / wa wõn ua / ti olɔ-a / so
 ti-a / ala na / ka ti bõ gu / ti bõõ ti tuo / ti kyaan tuura / a tɔ / ti bõõ
 ka / nin daar-a / a na wõn tina / a bom na vẽ-a / ka fu kun tuõ-a / bar
 o-aa / a fu nikpẽẽ-a (4740) / ka yel pɔɔ ua / a zɔ ti bari / alɛ na vẽ / ka
 ti tuura / a kontɔmɔ / ti bõõ ka ya / ka deungdem-o / ba la song ba
 sora / ka nin daar iɔng / a na wõn tina / a in ngmin / ka ti nye
 kontɔmɔ / ti tɔ sob-nu / ti wa bel ti-a / ka ti bõ gu? / nikpẽẽ banu /
 a fu iɔng na / ka ti kun tuõ / le ban uwe / alɛ na-a (4760) / ka ti bõ
 gu-a / ti zɔr a dãbie / ti na tuuraa / ti bɔng ka ya / nin daar na / a na
 wõn ti / faa nye ala / bon i ti / ka ti bɔr bɔru / wa tan ka / ka nir
 kɔng-a / daar kɔng-a / wa yel ka / ka boono i / ka ti-a / ka bɔra wa
 ta ka / ka ti yel ka / ti niru-aa / ka ti tuur ya / k'o bɔra (4780) / ala
 na vẽ / ka ti mi bɔr / ka nir-na / le soor-o / ka fu de sor-aa / kyier-aa /
 ka yi i yɔɔ / ti bɔri-a / a bɔr kpɛ muɔ / ka fu bõõ ka / fu bɔra / ti bõõ
 fu yira / fu na lieba wa kul be / k'o yel ka / k'o na lieba / a lieb kul /
 ti yel a yele-aa / ka ba wa ire / ka ba yi bɔ / k'o iɔng na lieba (4800) /
 lieb de sora / a sãã yir sora / o iɔng na kula / o'a kyieri / ti kpɛ muɔ /
 ti tuor nir / wa i kontɔmɔ / na nõ k'o bɔra / k'o yel ka / n ba / ar ka
 sɛr / o'a ar zom / ko olɛ yel ka / k'o nye bomo / k'o wiil o-aa / k'o yel
 ka / nir kõ-aa / k'o wa wiil le-aa / n daana tɔ ble / k'o bɔra-a (4820) /
 ka wõn o yel ua / k'o be be / a kpime teung / a nyere / ka wuur / bona
 wuur? / o zɔɔr ngmin-aa / zɔɔr o yele / zɔɔr o tomo / t'o le ir fu / mɛ
 fu iɔng / iɔng fu gbɛɛ / iɔng fu nyɔvuri / iɔng fu zu / ka fu vuuro /
 ka fu vuura-a / ti zɔɔr o nuɔra / ka ti tu fu ba / fu ba na-a / o bɔɔn
 o tomo (4840) / o na ton-aa / ti le vẽ-a / ka fu-a / ar bɔru / le na vẽ /

n ba bori / ka ba le kuli / ti nye niri / k'o yel o yele / ka n tuur o
 nuori / on yel wa baara / o in ngmin / faa nye dɔɔ / dɔɔ boonu? /
 a kontom dɔɔ-banu / k'o nar o naru / ti le bel bie / o'a ari / iong na
 beri / o'a ber bɔ gu (4860) / kontombie-a / boono so yuori / na di
 kontoma / faa nyu / dɔɔ ba liebu / iong o tuubu / o'a tuur u / kpɛ a
 muo / faa nye dɔɔ / k'o ba la be / ti tu kontomo / le iong o boru /
 boono so boru / ka kontomo / o'a ter u / ti kpɛ muo / on in ngmin /
 o'a de bomu / wuo kɔ banu / o'a de-o (4880) / o'a de kube / long ni
 nyue / zãzã piori / long ni libie / dom long taa / ti le yel ua / k'o nye
 bomo / bom boonu? / o'a de a yele / o'a nyɔɔ bɔɔ / bɔɔbuur yele / ti
 yel ka / kã vɛ k'o buu / buu kã nye / o'a zio dagoli / o'a tɔ a teung /
 ti yel ka / fu sãakumo / tɔ ble-nu / a naangmin teung (4900) / ma
 nuonu / ko wɔn be / on yela / faa nye dɔɔ / nuɔ ba kpɛ-o / o in
 ngmin / k'o la na zom / ti le lieba / o'a nye sori / a sor faa na / ko
 turia / boono sori / ko yel ka / ka sori nya puɔ / ka fu de-a / ka wa
 bɔɔ o-aa / fu na faani-na / ni yɔɔ / k'o yel ka / k'o yel k'o nye (4920) /
 k'o nyɔɔ yele / ti yel ka / k'o tɔ wuo / o'a de nu / tɔ o wuo-aa / o tɔ
 wa baara / on in ngmin / k'o yel ka / k'o ir bomo / bon boonu? / o'a
 ir o / ma kpo-nu / bɔɔ kpo-nu / o'a yel ka / k'o tɔ o nyu / o'a tɔ wa
 baara / o'a bin le zom / ti de gbelme / long ni siuwe / long sinshiura
 (4940) / o'a de-o / tur bar saa zu / o'a le bin teung / ti le tur duru
 loori / ti le tur goba / on tur wa baara / ti yel ka / k'o dom nya / ti
 gbaal o zu / on gbaal wa baara / o'a puor kontome / ti puora ngmin /
 ti puora wuo / on puor wa baara / long ni bara / long base / on puor
 wa baara / ti nye sor / ti yel ka / o puoro bɔɔɔ (4960) / ti puor bɔɔ
 pɛla / ti puor bɔɔ sɔɔli / ti puor a tɔng / ti puor a bule / ti puor a
 gbangbaala / ni zur ziiri / ni a zu sɔɔli / ko puor be gu be / ti le de
 sori / a man nuori / nikpɛɛ nu / iong tɔɔla / ka n puoro / ba gu-o-ɛ /
 zu ziiri / ani zu sɔɔli / ka n nyen ba zaa / ka n puor long taa / ti le
 duur yi / iong de sori (4980) / ti ta ya / a tu zɔng puɔ / nikpɛɛ / iong
 tɔɔla / ka n puoro / ni biir / zu sɔɔli / ni zu ziiri / ka n puor nyɔɔ
 ta / be puor wa baara / ka n dur ka yi / le de sori / wa wa ta / a tɔng
 kpɛɛ zu / n ba puor be / zu ziiri / ni zu sɔɔli / na ba bɔɔɔ / bɔɔ pɛle
 niba / long bɔɔ sɔɔli (5000) / ka na puor ba zaa / ba gu be / ti le
 lieba / zɔr wara / wa ta i ya / bɔɔ pla ya / ni o bibiiri / zu ziiri / ni zu
 sɔɔli / ka n puor ba / n puor wa baara / ti baa nye sori / a sãã yir
 iong / kan zɔ wa ta / n na ta be / faa nye bomo / yel yɔɔ na / bara
 no / long ni siuwe / long ni wen (5020) / long ni ngmin / long ni
 kontom / k'o puor ba zaa / dom nyɔɔta / ba ba i libie / kun tuɔ / zĩ
 sor ba / on wa ta / wa wa baara / ti de gbelme / o'a bin teung / ti yel

ka / ka yel miã-a / ka n bɔɔr ka n yela / a biiri / yel nya iɔng / ti na
 tuura / boonu yelo / ka ba wono-a? / ka ba yel ka (5040) / ka
 naangmin yelo / bamine-a / yel ka ya / kɔntɔme yelu / o'a de kpo / ti
 yel ka / ola wa i-a / naangmin yela / a bie kan kaar / o'a kaa bie / a ba
 zɔɔri / a naangmin yele / k'o yel ka / ola mi i-a / a kɔntɔm yelua /
 a bie k'o kaari / ti lɔb bie / ka lo sɔɔ / o'a yel ka / fũ banu (5060) / yel
 ka ya / ka tɔ / k'a na bɔra / o ba i bɔru-ɛɛ / yel kɔ-a / ar o tub / o tu
 ala-a / o tu wa baara / bon ko o ba nye / o nyen dib / nyen ni nii /
 lɔng ni piir / lɔng ni buur / lɔng ni nuur / lɔng ni pɔbɔ / o'a nye ba /
 nye ba zaa / ti naangmin teung / bon ben be / na gɔ̃ anya (5080) / lɛ
 na vɛ / ka biira / baa lieb nio / tur kɔntɔme / baa lieb nu / tur kɔnt-
 ɔme / baa nyɔɔ ba / ti iɔng na puori / ba na puor bana / baa puor
 wa baari / ban baar ala / ti lɛ nye yele / bono yele / ka ba yel ka / tin
 be ka / a teung zu puɔ / tin in ngmin / soor ti zu / dɔɔla nyũũ? / tin
 in ngmin (5100) / yela yele / yel miã / ka ar ti zu / faa nye ala / ka ba
 yel ka / fu bɔɔr ala / fu na nyɔɔna / a sãākum / gbɛ-a / ti bieri / alɛ
 na ya / ka ti tu bɔ̃ gu / ti iɔng na zɔ / iɔng na kyeɛni / ti kpɛ muɔ / a
 nir na-a / na tuur sãākuma / k'o dɔɔ ti-a / olɔ nu yel ka / ka ti tu
 ulɔ (5120) / ka ti bɔ̃ gu / ti iɔng na tu / lɛ wa wɔ̃ yele / yel paala /
 boono yelu? / ka kɔb yela-a / a dɔɔb yela-a / tamiur yela / alɛ na / i a
 yele / tin yel ka / a yel paala / tin in ngmini / a nyen dɔbu / tin in
 ngmini / a nye kuɔb / tin in ngmini / a nye tamiur / ti a bɔ̃ gu / ti a
 lɛ yel ka (5140) / ka tin sora-a / naangmin zie / naangmin bie / wa i
 suuri / ti lɛ yel ka / ka nir-na-a / na wiil a sora / kayi tuur-a /yin
 tuur-ua / ko i a naangmin / lɛ na vɛ / ka dagara bie-a / bɔ̃ k'o bɔra /
 o na bɔ̃ lɛ-a / lɛ na vɛ / ka ba yel ka / fu sɔng bomo / nari sɔng ku
 tɔl / ala na ya / faa nye bie (5160) / ka ba bari / a naangmin sori / ti
 lɛ yel ka / fu dɔɔ bie-a / on tuura sori / o kɔntɔm sori? / ba na yel
 lɛ-a / baa sɔɔ ã ã / baa nyɔɔ alɛ / fũ dɔɔ bie / a kɔntɔm sor / ala nu
 k'o tuur / fu na kul pɔɔ / a kɔntɔm sor / ola nu k'o tuu / ti naangmin
 yelua / ti ma wɔ̃ o yuora / ti sɔng u-aa / lɛ na vɛ / ka ti sɔng-o (5180)/
 sɔng ku tɔl / faa nye ala / tia bom nya iɔng / a ti bɔɔr bom / ti na
 bɔɔr-ua / bono iɔng na / ka ti bɔɔru / ka ba yel ka / ti bɔɔra / lɛ ti
 na i-a / tin in ngmini / ka ti bɔ̃ gu / tin bɔ̃ gu-a / ti yi de sori / ngma
 ti bɔbɔ / ta ngma bɔbɔ / ti ba buu ba / ti na buu bɔ̃ gu / ti lɛ wa ta /
 zĩ lɔng ta (5200) / boni yelu / ka ti yel k'o taa / a kpaartiib yelu / ka
 ti yel ku taa / ti yel wa baara / ti in ngmin / naangmin yele / na wa
 uro-a / faa nye ala / ti ni ma puora / naangmin yuora / ku ir sɔɔ / ti
 na zɔɔra o yele / lɛ na vɛ / ka ti liebba / bɔɔra sora / ka ti buu ku taa /
 ti buu bɔ̃ gu / ko lɛ liebba / a wal piel gbɛɛ (5220) / nɛb kyun kyun /

tin in ngmin / ko i ti yē / ka ti burbur / tin in ngmin / a yel nya
 iōng / tin ia / naangmin-ua / a iōng ti yē / ka ti tēru-a / ka ti tēru gu /
 ti nyɔɔ tule / olē nu-a / ti ngmīi ngmīi a bɔɔra / a soori naangmin /
 ka ba be yɔɔ / a ngmin ka waara / olē nu-a / ia ti ngmini / olē nu-a
 (5240) / a yel miɔ ngmin / wa wiil ti / lē tin a i / ka viel ti zie / ngmin
 popaala / olē nu-a / a sēlngmindēr / na wiil ti / a naangmin zie / a
 ngmin nyɔtuon / ola nu-a / a nira / a tɔ ni ble / a tɔ kpɛɛ-a / olē
 nu-a / a ngmin sɔr goba / a ngmin bie-a / olē nu-a / a nanyu daa / na
 o pɔɔ (5260) / a ngmin par pla / olē nu-a / a naazuo daa / ni o pɔɔ /
 a ngmin naayuo / olē nu-a / a kɔntɔmbie / a ngmin gagara / olē nu-a /
 a kɔntɔmble / a ngmin biila / olē nu-a / a tɔ kpɛ̃ kur / olē na ya / ka
 ti nyɔɔ-a / a bibiir-a / a bin teung / ti iōng ba wiil-ua / ka bible-a /
 wa iōng tier-ua (5280) / wa bɔ̃ a yele / ti songna-ya / ka ti kyaan
 tuur / ka ni daar iōng / ka ti faa ta / tin yel alē-a / a ba duur kū / tin
 yele-a / ka n mang ka / an i lē-a / a na tuɔ̃ na / a kū? / a ba tuɔ̃i / ma
 iōng yē / gun in tuɔra / ka wa lieba / yel wɔ̃n yē / iōng a ti zu / ma-
 yaa / n tēra n yē ya (5300) / ka wa lieba / ziri ngma yē / n tēra n yē
 yaa / ka wa lieba / nimili yē / n tēra n yē / ka wa lieba / gagara yē /
 yeng yɔɔ ya / olē nu-a / sɔɔn nir zu / dāmbol yɔɔ ya / alē na / sɔɔn
 nir zu / ti ba sɔɔn yɔɔi / lē na ya / ka ti bɔ̃ gu / ti lē lieb puor / olē
 yel ka / tin in ngmini (5320) / lē lieba yē / boono yē-nu / na lieba /
 a yel wɔ̃n yē / boono yē-nu / na lieba / a nimili yē / boono yē-nu / na
 lieba / a gagara / k'o yel ka / n yē na / na lieba / a gagara / ulē nu-a /
 dōng i boma / lēɔr ba puor / on yel wa baara / ti iōng na hiera / nibe
 ya (5340) / ba bar gɔmɔ / ban bar gɔmɔ / ka n de n yel-a / a yel wa
 baara / boonu yelua / a yel wun yelua / boonu yelua / a nimili yelu /
 boonu yelua / a gagara yelu / a nu-a / a fu gaga nir? / kɔntɔmbie-
 na / n gaga nir / olē nu-a / wa bēl ma / a naangmin soor puo / kan
 wa sōng n tuɔra / ka nin daar iōng / ka wɔ̃ ma (5360) / fū sōng yela /
 sōng fu taba / fu na tuɔ̃ maal / fū sōng yela / sōng naangmin / o ba
 ka maal-ue / boonu na / na sōng naangmin / a zɔɔra o nuori? / boonu
 na / na sōng naangmin? / fu na sōng a sora / boonu na / naangmin
 sor / ka mǎ sōng? / olē nu-a / n yel ka / o sēlngmindēra / olē nu-a /
 a bɔ̃ naangmina (5380) / ka n iōng na tua / ka n tu wa baara / ka
 nir bie-a / a nu-a / a fu nire bie-a? / kɔntɔmbie / olē nu-a / a n nire
 bie / bie ni bo / na sōng n sora / bie-ni-bo / on sōng n tieru-a /
 pampaanaya / ka tɔ ble / ti tan naangmin / k'o iōng wuura / ko
 nyere / boonu wuuri? / o zɔɔr o nuori / ala so wuuri (5400) / k'o
 nyere / boonu wuuri? / a wuuri-ya / olē nu-a / o na sōng a sora / ka
 n bɔɔn ka / n in wuur nir / biiri / yaa nya / biiri / yaa wɔ̃? / pɔɔɔ / ya

wõ / a bum nyaya / na iõng sɔɔl-ua / sɔɔli ti zie / ma wa wiil yia / a
wiil wa baara / yi nyɔɔ-a / nu duru (5420) / yi nyɔɔ-a / ni nio / yi
teru-aa / ka i laar / lɛ na / k'o yel ku a biir / a yel nya puɔ / o ba
tuur / zir ngma nire / a yel nya puɔ / o ba tuura / gagar nire / a yel
nya puɔ / o ba tuur / nimil nire / o tura / bideble / ni iõng tieru / ma
ara ia / a iõng yi wiil-ua (5440) / tin de na / yuom ata / yi boona / a
naangmin yele / na war uro-a / ti ka n nyɔɔ-o / a iõng n nu-o / ti
kaar o / n tieru / ka dayere bio / ti na kpeni ona / bɔɔ pla dio / n
tieru / ka bibie ata / n na kpeni ona / bɔɔ pla dio / n tieru / ka datere /
n na kpeni ona / bɔɔ pla dio (5460) / ma wa kpe / bible-a / wa iõng
o nuɔra / k'o ti mana / kɔng da kora / ko iõng na kye-a / kye k'o
niri / o'a kye gugur / lɛ na ya / ara n suuri / ka biira / wa bɔɔ-a / ti
na puora / a fu bɔ ngmin / ti na puora / fu kɔntɔm ngmin / ti na
puora / fu bɔɔr siuwe / ti na puora / a fu kɔntɔm siuwe (5480) / aɛ
na ya / ka na yel k'o yia / a dio nya puɔ / o ina a yel yɔɔ yele / n kun
tuɔ / wiil a zaa / maa wiil ku yi / a ina / yuom ata yelua / yuom
ayuoɔb yelua / lɛ na ya / ka ba buɔla / a bɔɔ sɔɔla / o ina / bidɔɔ yelua /
lɛ na ya / ka ba buɔla / a bɔɔr sɔɔla / o ina / tamiur yel (5500) / lɛ na
ya / ka ba buɔla / a bɔɔr sɔɔla / o ina / a kukuur yel / lɛ na ya / ka ba
buɔla / a bɔɔr sɔɔla / o ina / a nɔɔ guol yel / lɛ na ya / ka ba buɔla /
a bɔɔr sɔɔla / tia baari / n yel ku yi



INDEX TO THE INTRODUCTION

- Ancestors (*kpiin*), 17 f., 22, 25 f., 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 38, 42, 43, 45, 47, 51, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 77, 78, 81, 89, 96, 109, 114; *see* shrines
- Announcement of Bagre (*Bo wuur*), 27, 53, 55, 62, 64, 66 f., 79
- Asperging of the Initiates (*Bo puoru*), 46, 53, 54-5, 64 f.
- Babile, settlement of, 36, 37
- Bagre Animals, 51, 53, 55, 62, 63, 82, 90-1, 113
- Bagre Association, 6, 10, 30, 33, 34 f., 36, 39, 41, 45
- Bagre Bells, 55, 107, 109, 111, 112 f.
- Bagre Ceremony, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 22, 24, 30, 31, 34, 36, 37, 38, 41, 42, 44, 49-50, 56, 59, 65 f.
Time of performance, 4, 6, 53 f.
Place, 5
- Bagre Characters, 8, 19, 20, 21, 27, 62, 70, 79, 82; *see also* Bagre Animals; Beings of the Wild
- Bagre Dance, 41, 55, 69, 75, 81, 82, 83, 85, 88, 91, 92 f., 94, 107 f., 110, 111, 112
- Bagre Deity (*Bo wen*), 23, 24, 25, 26, 35, 38, 39, 40, 46, 58, 64, 65, 74, 77, 78, 80, 82, 85, 88, 95, 96, 107, 108, 109, 112, 114
- Bagre Equipment, 27, 48 f., 56, 81, 84, 85, 96-8, 103, 105, 115
- Bagre Eve, 55, 85, 95 f.
- Bagre 'Father', 91, 94, 98
- Bagre for Bambara Beans, 94 f.
- Bagre Gifts, 110 f.
- Bagre Language, 58 f.
- Bagre Medicine, 48-9, 50, 51, 81, 91, 97, 102, 104, 115, 116
- Bagre 'Mother', 42, 45, 47, 86, 91, 92, 94, 100, 106
- Bagre Myth, 4, 7, 11, 12, 14, 18, 19, 20, 24, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 39, 43, 49, 56 f., 72, 79, 80, 91, 95, 100, 108
- Bagre of Beans, 53, 55, 65, 66, 73, 76 f., 81
- Bagre Payments, 57, 92, 93, 94, 100, 103
- Bagre Shrine, 5, 67, 77, 78; *see* Bagre Deity
- Bari*, 18, 22
- Base*, 18, 22; *see* Medicine Shrine
- Beating of the Malt, 55, 63, 87, 88 f., 113
- Beer, 5, 9, 12, 27, 41, 43, 53, 55, 57, 62, 66-7, 71, 74, 81, 82, 83, 84, 87, 89, 92, 94, 95, 102, 108, 110, 114
- Beer of the Bagre Medicine (*Bo tii dāā*), 81
- Beings of the Wild (*kəntome*), 5, 8, 15, 19 f., 22, 23, 24, 30, 31, 38, 49, 50, 51, 55, 62, 63, 85, 100, 109, 113, 116; *see* Shrines; Spirits
- Bells, 27, 28, 49, 85, 101, 102, 105, 112; *see* Bagre Equipment
- Birifu, settlement of, 7, 9, 11, 12, 23, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 45, 47, 76 f., 92, 105
- Boo pla* (the white hole), 28, 36
- Brothers, 8, 62
- Ceremony of the Bean Flower, 55, 63
- Chief, 8, 9, 10, 11, 30, 39, 77, 78, 85, 89, 91, 92
- Christianity, 30, 32, 34, 66
- Christian Bible, 4
- Church:
Churches of Eurasia, 32
Roman Catholic Church, 10, 35
- Clans, 9, 11, 17, 19, 27, 28, 34, 65, 71, 93, 110
- Matrilineal, 7
- Patrilineal, 6, 37, 41, 42, 45, 72, 95; Kpiele, Kusiele, 6, 18
- Deity (*weni*), 15, 22 f., 26
- Deity of meetings, 12; *see* God
- Dirt Bagre, 36, 37
- Diviner, 8, 18, 19, 27, 35, 39, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 62, 66, 77, 85, 114, 116
- Doro*, 37-8
- Earth shrine (*tengaan*), 7, 8, 16 f., 19, 22, 25 f., 47, 50, 62, 65, 68, 69, 81,

Earth shrine (*cont.*):

83, 96; earth, 26, 28, 30, 31, 38, 39,
65, 69, 74, 77, 113, 114

Elders, 9, 39, 43, 55, 56, 64, 65, 67,
68 f., 82, 89, 93, 96, 103

Family, 5, 6

Folk-tales, 30, 31

Fortes, M., 13, 29, 35

Fowls, 28, 34, 38, 39, 43, 47, 51, 64,
65, 66, 68, 71, 73, 74, 77-8, 81, 88,
96, 106

Funeral, 4, 9, 12, 17, 26, 29, 36, 37,
39, 42, 44, 45, 47, 50, 51, 68, 84, 86,
88, 90, 92, 103, 105, 107, 115, 116

Girault, R. P., 14, 25, 28, 29, 30, 34

God (*Naangmin*, High God), 15, 19,
20, 22 f., 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 62,
63, 100, 108, 113

God (*ngmin*), 14, 15, 16, 22, 25, 47,
71, 72, 82, 108

Gonja, the, 31, 39

Grain, 34, 38, 39, 43, 53, 55, 58, 67-8,
92-3

Granary, 5, 6, 24, 46, 64, 78

Guardian spirit (*siura*), 16, 20, 21, 22,
27 f., 38, 70-89, 109

Guide, 47, 64, 71, 83, 84, 86, 88, 89,
94, 95, 96, 98, 101, 103, 104, 109,
112

Harvest, 38, 53, 55, 62, 73

Initiates, *see* Neophytes

Invocation, 8, 38, 52

Islam, 31, 32, 36, 101

Joking partnerships, 43-4, 68, 88, 111,
115

Labouret, H., 13, 34, 35, 40, 58, 81,
82, 116

Lawra, settlement of, 6, 10, 41, 85, 94,
103, 107

Lineage, 6, 17, 18, 27, 30, 34, 36, 42,
45, 46, 50, 60, 67, 71, 76, 110, 111

LoBirifor, the, 9, 35, 40, 81

LoDagaa, the, 9, 35, 40

Agriculture, 3, 4, 5, 8, 11, 12, 81

Bridewealth, 45

Byre, 5, 6 (*see* Granary)

Compounds, 6

Family, 6

Habitat, 4

House, 5

Inheritance (matrilineal), 107

Kinship, 91

Language, 3

Religious system, 14 f., 28 f.

Trading, 75-6

Long room, 5, 46

LoWiili, the, 9, 35, 72

Markets, 9, 12

Masks, 35, 36, 58

Medicine shrines (*tiib*), 14, 18 f., 22,
27, 30, 31, 32, 77, 113

Missions, 10

Missionaries, 42

Neophytes, 18, 24, 27, 31, 36, 37, 38,
39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 52,
53, 55, 60, 63, 64, 65, 66 f.

Night Cow (*tinsɔ naab*), 38

Oil Bagre, 36, 37, 100

Pantheon, 14, 15, 22, 25, 26, 28, 29

Parish, 9, 17, 18, 34, 36, 42, 43, 45

Prohibition of activities, 7, 45, 47,
52 f., 65, 68, 73-4, 78-9, 82, 84, 85,
86, 91, 108

Prohibition of foods, 4, 7, 52, 53, 64,
65, 66, 68, 70, 72, 79-80, 82, 84, 90,
94, 96

Rain God (*saa ngmin*), 23, 24, 25

Reciprocity, 42, 43-4, 56, 81, 93, 110 f.

Rhythm (of Bagre recital), 46-7, 57-8,
69

Sacrifice, 6, 7, 26, 30, 31, 35, 42, 47,
58, 64, 65, 68-9, 70, 73, 74, 77-8,
82, 88, 89, 96, 108-9, 112, 114

School, effect of, 10, 11

Second grade, the, 114 f.

Secret societies, 33, 35

Shea butter, use of, 27, 55, 69-70

Shea fruit, use of, 4, 20, 36, 52, 53,
64, 65, 79

Shrines:

to hill and water spirits (beings of
the wild), 5, 8

to ancestors, 6

to Rain God, 23, 24, 25, 26

- household shrines, 113
- local shrines, 32, 35, 42, 50, 64, 67, 72
 - see also* Ancestors; Bagre Shrine; Beings of the Wild; Earth Shrine; Medicine Shrines; *Bari*; and *Base*
- Sky, 25, 26
- Speaker, the, 43, 46, 47, 56, 57, 60, 64, 65, 69, 75, 85, 89, 91, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 107
- Spider, 22, 27, 62
- Spirits, 5, 6
 - ancestor, 27
 - spirit guardian (*siura* or *sigra*), 16, 20, 21, 22, 76
- Sun, 25
- Tallensi, the, 29, 35
- Tom, settlement of, 7, 10, 18, 34, 42
- Wa, town of, 9, 11
- Whitening Ceremony (*Bo pir*), 36, 53, 55, 79, 81 f., 88, 95, 96
- Whitewash, 28, 36, 37, 38, 39, 55, 71, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 90, 102
- Witchcraft, 18
- Wizardry, 41
- Xylophone, 5, 12, 36, 43, 46, 47, 75, 81, 83, 89, 92, 93, 94, 101, 102, 104, 106, 109





Date Due

DEC - 6 1977		
JUN 2 2 1999		
JUN 2 2 1999		
JUL 2 2 1999		
JUL 1 4 1999		



BL 2480 .D3 G66
Goody, Jack, comp.
The myth of the Bagre by Jac

010101000



0 1163 0139407 2
TRENT UNIVERSITY

BL2480 .D3G66

AUTHOR

Goody, John Rankine

TITLE

The myth of the Bagre

DATE DUE

BORROWER'S NAME

194153

194153

